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THE

CHRONICLE

OF

JAMES I, KING OF ARAGON,

SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF).

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OF

JAMES I, KING OF ARAGON,

SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF).

TRANSLATED FROM THE CATALAN BY THE LATE

JOHN FORSTER, ESQ.,

M.P. for Berwick.

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Vol. 1

WITH

An Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendix, Glossary, and General Index,

BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

Member of the Royal Academy of History,
and Formerly Professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

The present translation of the Chronicle of James I. of Aragon, surnamed "the Conqueror"—one of the most remarkable historical productions of the thirteenth century—was undertaken nearly eight years ago, though not quite finished, by the late John Forster, Esq., M.P. for Berwick during the period of 1852 to 1857. The idea sprang entirely from him after a private conversation held in the Athenæum Club in August, 1875. "The "history of Spain," said he to the writer of these lines, "particularly that of Aragon during the "middle ages, is so exciting and full of interest, "and at the same time so little known among us, "that I am seriously thinking of translating James's "Royal Chronicle into English. I happen, as you "know, to possess an imperfect copy of the rare "edition of 1557, besides a modern Castilian "version—which by the by does not seem to me

"to be a faithful one—and I have besides by me "M. de Tourtoulon's remarkable work, *Études* "*sur la maison de Barcelone* (Montpellier, 1863), "which will, I have no doubt, be of great assistance "to the scholar wishing to dive into the history "of Aragon. Altogether, I have been so charmed "with the perusal of the Royal Chronicle, that I "have almost made up my mind to turn it into "English! However, the Provençal, or, properly "speaking, Catalan, language in which the Chronicle "was written, has become antiquated; the Valencia "edition is incorrect and full of blunders, so replete "with obscure words, perhaps derived from the "Arabic, and the meaning of which is quite un-"known to me, that I apprehend serious difficulties "in the accomplishment of my task. There are, "moreover, questions connected with the author-"ship and composition of the Chronicle itself, to "solve which, greater knowledge of the history and "literature of the Spanish Peninsula during the "middle ages is required than I happen to possess "just now. Of the Spanish Arabs I myself know "nothing at all. Will you help me?"[1]

[1] The above is the substance of Mr. Forster's conversation in 1875, and of his ideas on the subject. Letters written since show that he had not abandoned them up to the time of his death.

Such a request on the part of a friend, whose acquaintance I had made many years before, and with whom I had been on familiar terms and correspondence ever since, could not well be declined. I accepted; Mr. Forster set to work immediately, and laying aside other works more or less connected with the history of Spain, in which he was engaged at the time, devoted himself exclusively to the translation of the Royal Chronicle. This was on the point of being completed, wanting only one or two chapters at the end, when on the night of the 7th of January, 1878, Mr. Forster was found dead in his library, surrounded by the many valuable books and manuscripts assiduously collected for the illustration of his intended work.

After Mr. Forster's death, deeply lamented by his relatives and friends—among which latter the undersigned had the pleasure and the honour to count himself—nothing remained to be done but to put in order and classify his various writings, separate those relating to a "History of the Spanish Inquisition"—a work of scrupulous research and patient labour, to which he had devoted the best part of his life—from his own English version of James's Catalan Chronicle, and lastly, commit this latter to the press.

An early application by one of Mr. Forster's executors, the late Matthew Hutton Chaytor, Esq., Chairman of the Alliance Bank in London, could not be disregarded by the writer of these lines, and after considerable delay, owing to various causes, the Royal Chronicle comes at last before the public in English.

It was, however, Mr. Forster's original intention that his translation should be preceded by some sort of "Introduction," or "Prolegomena," on the history of Aragon before its union with Catalonia, as well as by detached pieces on the Moḥammedan dynasties ruling over Mallorca, Valencia, and Murcia—Almoḥades or Almoravides—at the time of their conquest by James. The former task the deceased evidently reserved for himself, though unfortunately he had no time to accomplish it; the latter he had from the beginning entrusted, as above stated, to the undersigned, as well as a Glossary of obsolete words, chiefly derived from the Arabic, and any other additional matter likely to illustrate the Royal narrative. He was not aware at his death in 1878 that the year before a second and more correct edition of James's Chronicle was in course of preparation at Barcelona, its text having been first carefully collated with two manuscripts

of the fourteenth century, one of which, made by Celestí Destorrens for the Abbot of Santa Maria de Poblet, on the 17th of September, A.D. 1343, is now preserved in the public library of that city. Had he been aware of this fact, Mr. Forster would undoubtedly have visited Barcelona, for the sole purpose of collating certain passages of the Chronicle evidently vitiated by scribes or printers, most likely by both, and which must have sorely puzzled the most accomplished and ingenious student of the Catalan language. As, moreover, the original manuscript, which according to all accounts was preserved at Poblet as late as 1651, is nowhere to be found,[1] it naturally results that the second and revised Barcelona edition of the Catalan text, of which the translator could not avail himself, has supplied his present editor with the means of correcting its many blunders, and supplying its deficiencies.

As to the much debated question of the authorship of the Chronicle itself, and its relative merits—one among others which the deceased reserved for himself—the reader is referred to the "Historical

[1] It is generally asserted that Archbishop Marca, royal intendant of Catalonia for Louis XIV., during the short occupation of that principality by the French, took it away from Poblet.

Introduction," where it will be amply discussed. Among the numerous loose memoranda left by the deceased as materials for the illustration of his work, one is found in which, after abstracting what Tourtoulon says on the subject, he expresses his opinion that the *Libre dels feyts esdevenguts en la vida del molt alt senyor En Jacme, lo Conqueridor*, is really and truly the work of James, and could not have been written by any one else; also that the arguments produced by Villarroya in 1800 against the generally admitted opinion prove nothing at all. This opinion the undersigned shares also, and therefore, without hesitation on his part, the words (*written by himself*) have been added to the title page according to the translator's desire.

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Alfonso I. of Aragon, surnamed "El Batallador" (He of the battles), succeeded his brother, Pedro I., in the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon in 1104, when no longer young, for he had greatly distinguished himself as early as 1094 in a campaign against the Moors. At his accession, Aragon comprised only the mountainous fringe of the Pyrenean range, and part of those valleys through which the Aragon and other rivers pour their waters into the Ebro to the east of what is now called "Aragon." A marriage contracted about 1109 with Urraca, the daughter of Alfonso VI., and Queen of Castile and Leon in her own right, promised fairly for the Christians of the Peninsula, for shortly after Alfonso assumed the title of "Emperor of Spain," and prepared to invade the Moslem territory. Unluckily for the Christian cause a bitter quarrel sprang up between husband and wife, followed by a desultory and cruel war between their respective kingdoms, ending in the total expulsion of Alfonso from Urraca's dominions in Castile, Leon, and Galicia. Not at all discouraged by this reverse,

Alfonso resumed with increased vigour the war against the Infidel, and conquered one by one the petty Moorish kingdoms in Aragon. In 1120 Saragossa, the capital, was taken, and in the ensuing years Calatayud and Daroca. He was prosecuting his successes against the Aragonese Moors, and endeavouring to secure further conquests to the east and south of Saragossa, when a campaign undertaken against Lérida and Fraga—two important cities—ended disastrously for him, he having been defeated close to the latter place on the 17th of July, 1134. Alfonso died soon after, in September of that year, worn out, as it is asserted, by old age and fatigue, if not in consequence of wounds received in the battle, as generally believed.[1]

After the foregoing sketch of Alfonso's field of action, it will seem rather strange—though the fact is recorded both by Christian and Moslem writers—that in 1123, just after his ejection from Castile, he should have personally led a most successful raid into Andalusia; should in his victorious career have approached Cordoba, reached the sea at Almeira, on

[1] The battle was fought under the walls of Fraga, which Alfonso was besieging at the time. The Almoravides being commanded by Aben Gania (Ibn Ghániyah). Whether Alfonso, himself, fell on that day, as asserted by three ancient authorities, or, as we are informed by a contemporary monk of San Juan de la Seña, he retired to that monastery of Benedictines, and died there of grief and disappointment, is doubtful; but the circumstance of his body not having been found on the field of battle, makes us believe that the latter conjecture is more probable, inasmuch as it gave rise to an imposture, which will be mentioned hereafter.

the coast of Granada, and returned safely to his own dominions. Only by taking into account the distracted state of the Moorish settlements at the time, and the feeble cohesion of their Moḥammedan rulers, no energetic hand happening at that moment to grasp the sceptre, can faith be attached to the narrative of Al-makkarí and other Arabian historians, describing Alfonso's successful raid through the thickly populated provinces of Islam.[1]

One must, indeed, presume that this warrior-prince, one of the most remarkable men the Peninsula produced during the middle ages, must have believed himself invested with a mission from Heaven to restore the whole of Spain to the Christians and free his country from the Moslem invaders, for having no heir to his crown but a daughter, still a child and unmarried, and a brother—a monk, and thereby excluded from the succession—he sedulously

[1] The account of Alfonso's successful raid to the shores of the Mediterranean is too minutely described by Al-makkarí Ibnu-ṣ-ṣeyrafí and others to leave any doubt on the subject. The last-named historian says that Alfonso's raid was chiefly undertaken at the desire of the *Muâhidin*, or Christians, living in those districts under the Moḥammedan rule, who furnished him with provisions and guides. They were, however, well punished for their treason, for by order of Ali Ibn Yúsuf, the Almoravid, thousands of them were transported to Meknesah, Salee, and other places in Africa. Ibnu-l-Khaṭṭíb, the historian, who visited the latter port about 1360, bears testimony that the adjoining town of Rabát was entirely inhabited by Christians, the result of that expulsion, whence the name of *Rabatines* given to the corsairs of that coast in the fifteenth century. See Al-makkarí, *Moḥammedan Dynasties*, vol. ii., p. 305.

looked out for some prince capable of applying the national resources to the prosecution of the holy war, and finding no one to his taste, placed the government of his kingdom in the hands of the Military Orders of the Temple and Hospital at Jerusalem.

The consequences of such a will could not be but disastrous. The administration of affairs by the Military Orders, and the prosecution of the war against the Infidel, might have been carried on by a Council of Regency composed of Templars and Hospitalers during a minority, but who was ultimately to inherit Alfonso's already considerable dominions, comprising almost the whole of Aragon and Navarre? History does not record what steps the knights of those two Orders took to vindicate their right to their at first doubtful inheritance; but neither Aragon nor Navarre paid the least attention to Alfonso's disposition. Immediately after his death Ramiro, his brother, abandoned the cloister, and had himself proclaimed King of Aragon, whilst the Navarrese, whose union to that kingdom had not met with general approval, appointed a monarch of their own at Pampeluna.

Ramiro's reign was not of long duration. At first he had to contend against Garcia IV., the newly-elected King of Navarre, as well as against Alfonso VIII. of Leon and Castile, both of whom molested him on the borders. Indeed, it was

probably through disgust with the never-ceasing pretensions of the former and the intrigues of the latter, as well as from the stings of conscience at having broken his vows, that in 1137, in the third year of his reign, Ramiro resolved to marry his niece, Petronila, to the Count of Barcelona, resign his dignity to his future son-in-law, and return to the cloister, where he died in 1157. The choice then fell on Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona and Provence, who immediately after entered on his duties as Supreme Governor and Prince Consort of Aragon.

The energy, self-control, and sacrifice of national vanity shown by the Aragonese barons during that eventful period will appear highly creditable, if we consider that they deliberately consented to place their land under a foreign prince, for such was Berenguer to them. Thus was the union of Catalonia and Aragon effected, though Navarre still continued under Garcia Ramirez till 1150.[1]

In the twelfth century Catalonia was, as it is now, a more important country than Aragon in point of population and wealth. It had a navy, and the trade of Barcelona with the ports of the Mediterranean coast, as far as Italy and Greece, was very flourishing. The same differences of

[1] Garcia Ramirez, the Fourth, was the son of Sancho. He was succeeded by his son, Sancho V., whose daughter, Berengaria, was married to Richard I. of England.

language,[1] character, and habits, which then divided the two nations, prevailed, and yet the Aragonese barons did not hesitate to consent to a union, which could not but be profitable to their country. Not only during Ramon's life did they allow their Queen Petronila to be a mere cipher, but after the death of the Count, on the 7th of August, 1162, an attempt was made to set her entirely aside, and place her son, though a mere boy at the time, on the throne. The Count died at San Damiano, between Genoa and Turin, on his way to meet the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and ratify the treaty previously made with his ambassadors respecting his own possessions, rights, and conquests in the east of France, which that emperor undertook to recognise and defend, provided the Count engaged himself to support the Antipope Victor against Pope Alexander III., in the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy (1159). By a nuncupatory will, dated the 6th of August, the Count had made his eldest son, Ramon, heir to his possessions in Spain, and his second son, Pedro, to those in France, *i.e.* Cerdagne and Narbonensian Gaul, these last, however, to be held in fief of the eldest. To his Queen, Petronila, he left the town of Besalú in Catalonia, besides Ripas and the adjoining territory

[1] It is a very remarkable fact, but one that cannot be contested, that though Aragon remained ever since the eleventh century incorporated with Catalonia, the Provençal language did not penetrate north of the Ebro.

for her residence; his realms, however, and his two sons, he left under the guardianship of Henry II. of England.[1]

On the death of her husband Petronila summoned the Cortes, both of Catalonia and Aragon, to meet at Huesca; and as the Count, her husband, had made no provision for a regency—though his son Berenguer was only eleven years old at the time—the Count of Provence (Ramon Berenguer) was then and there made Governor of Catalonia, whilst Petronila herself, with the consent of the Aragonese barons, assumed the administration of the kingdom. Presently there appeared on the scene an impostor, who pretended to be Alfonso I., dead twenty years before.[2] The evidence—usual in such cases—was produced in this instance, for the man, whoever he was, could remember and recall to the memory of persons still living many incidents in their past lives. He was, nevertheless, sentenced to death and hanged. What share Petronila herself may have had in this dark affair is not known; but the fraud, no doubt, brought to light her own unpopularity, for

[1] During the war which Ramon Berenguer waged against the Count of Toulouse (Raymond V.), in 1193, he sought and obtained the alliance of Henry II. of the house of Plantagenet, who claimed the Duchy of Aquitaine as the inheritance of his wife Eleanor, the repudiated queen of Louis VII. of France.

[2] Ramon Berenguer died in 1162, leaving only one daughter, Doulce (Dulce), who had been promised in marriage to the son of Raymond V., Count of Toulouse. The latter naturally attempted to establish his right to the succession, though in vain, for Provence remained to the house of Aragon.

on the 18th of June, 1164, she was obliged to abdicate, and her own son Ramon was put in possession of his father's inheritance, the youthful monarch changing his name from Ramon to Alfonso II.

On the death of his cousin, the Count of Provence, to whom his father had granted that fief in perpetuity, Alfonso II., surnamed "the Chaste," re-united to Aragon that lordship and others in France, besides Roussillon, to which he succeeded by inheritance. Following the example of his warlike predecessors, he assailed the Moorish settlements bordering on his dominions, and took several fortresses south of the Ebro (1168—1177). He also assisted Alfonso IX. of Castile, whose niece he had married, against the Almoravides, and though that king's defeat at Alarcos, and his own dissensions with Sancho of Navarre, somewhat retarded the aggrandisement of his patrimonial kingdom, he, nevertheless, was the first monarch of his race to free the whole of Catalonia and Aragon from the Moḥammedan rule. He died at Perpignan in 1196, leaving his Spanish dominions, besides Roussillon, to his eldest son, Pedro; Provence and the rest to Alfonso; a third (Fernando) became monk of Poblet, and abbot of Montaragon.

Pedro II., in the first year of his reign, had some disputes with his mother (Sancha) respecting certain fortresses left to her as a dowry by the late king,

her husband. In 1203 he embarked for Rome to be crowned by the Pope. He was well received by the Sacred College of Cardinals, solemnly anointed by one of them, and presented with the crown, the globe, and the sceptre, by the hands of Innocent III. himself, and not only did he do homage on the occasion as a feudatory of the Church, but, by a public instrument, which is still in existence, engaged that Aragon, Catalonia, and the rest of his dominions should for ever remain a fief of the Holy See, and be considered the property of the successors of St. Peter. This disposition, however, did not meet with the approval of the Aragonese barons; in 1205 the States assembled at Saragossa, protested against the act as derogatory to the honour of the nation and injurious to its people, and, consequently, the deed was annulled, and remained without effect.

In 1204 Pedro married Maria, daughter and heiress of the Count of Montpellier, Guillaume VIII. Wishing moreover to secure his dominions in the south of France, already threatened by the Capetian monarchs, and ally himself with the feudal lords of Gascony and Provence, Pedro married his two sisters, Eleanor and Sancha, one to Raymond VI., the other to Raymond VII., both Counts of Toulouse, and prepared himself for the struggle, more political than religious, which, under the name of the "Albigensian War," was inevitably to take place soon in the south of France. In June, 1209,

thousands of Crusaders, having at their head two Papal legates, Milon and Arnaud Amalric, the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, Saint Paul, and Auxerre, the ruthless Simon de Montfort, the English Earl of Leicester, two archbishops, eight bishops, and numerous other barons and knights, invaded the south of France, that is the country where Pedro II. of Aragon, his brother-in-law Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse, Raymond Roger Viscount d'Alby, Beziers, and Carcassonne, the Counts of Foix and Comminges, the Viscount of Bearn, ruled, among whom the "detestable and pernicious heresy of the Albigenses," as it is called by the monkish writers of the time, had made and was making great ravages. "It was," as a modern French historian[1] observes, "the struggle between the "North and the South; between the German and the "Latin races, between Frank rudeness and Roman "civilization." . . . In such a struggle between the sworn enemies of the southern nationality and the rebellious barons excommunicated by the Holy See, Pedro's position must have been a difficult one. What could a monarch, whose orthodoxy had never been suspected, himself a dutiful son of the Holy See, who had accepted the title of "Catholic," and had on a former occasion by his excessive complaisance towards Innocent III. brought on himself

[1] *Études sur la maison de Barcelona. Jacme I., le Conquerant*, by M. Ch. de Tourtoulon; Montpellier, MDCCCLXIII., tom. i. pp. 104-9.

the reproaches of his own subjects, do under such circumstances? How could he in the midst of the struggle forget and abandon his position as first national Prince of the South of France, and what could he do, placed as he was, between the standard of the Cross, which he was heroically defending in the Peninsula, and the great national cause of the South, of which he was the natural representative? . . . . Though his sympathies seem to have been for the Albigenses he remained neutral. After the taking of Beziers and the indiscriminate massacre of its inhabitants, when the Viscount of Beziers himself (Raymond Roger) had fled to Carcassonne and fortified himself against the Crusaders, Pedro did all he could to save his nephew from their hands. He went in person to the camp of the Crusaders, negotiated with the Papal legates, and obtained a promise that should the Viscount leave the place accompanied only by twelve of his own companions, he would be allowed to depart unmolested, the rest of his force and the city of Carcassonne remaining at the mercy of the conquerors. Such humiliating conditions were heroically rejected by the Viscount, who remained prisoner in the hands of the Crusaders.[1] The partition, however, of his property was the cause of dissension among the Crusaders. The Duke of Bourgogne, the Counts

[1] Gomez Miedes, *De vitâ et rebus gestis Jacobi primi*, lib. i.; Blancas, *Aragonensium Rerum Commentarii*, p. 650.

of Nevers, and St. Paul, honourably refused to take part in the spoliation; most of them separating and returning to their respective estates, only Simon, Count of Montfort, L'Amauri (Amalric), and Leicester accepted from the Papal legates the confiscated domains and continued at the head of the Crusaders, the former fixing his residence at Carcassonne, which was a fief of Aragon. Montfort is known to have been of a stern, rapacious, and remorseless disposition. Most probably the complaints respecting his administration, which daily reached the ears of Pedro, may have been one cause, among others, of the latter refusing to receive the homagè of the new Viscount; yet in 1211, Pedro, being at Montpellier, was reluctantly persuaded not only to receive the Viscount's homage but to agree to the proposal of a marriage between his son James and a daughter of Montfort, he, Pedro, going as far as to deliver the young Prince into the hands of the Viscount, both as a pledge of his sincerity and that he might be educated in France according to the manner of the times under so renowned a leader.

After the campaign of 1212, in which the Almoḥades, under Moḥammad An-náṣir, were completely defeated at Las Navas, near Ubeda, Pedro was urgently pressed by his brother-in-law, Raymond of Toulouse, as well as by his relatives, the Counts of Foix and Bearn, all protectors of the

Albigenses, to arm in their behalf. Pedro had every reason to be dissatisfied with the Crusaders, who in the last war had seized several fortresses belonging to the appanage of his sister, married to the former of those barons; he, therefore, listened to their pressing demands for help, and passed the Pyrenees at the head of a considerable force; yet his object appears to have been rather to act as a mediator than as a belligerent. Whatever his proposals to the two Papal legates may have been on the occasion, certain it is that he formally declared that he could not forsake his allies. At the head of a combined army of Aragonese and Catalonians, Pedro advanced against Muret, a fortified town on the Garonne, about two leagues from Toulouse, where on the 12th September, 1213, he met with his death,[1] "for such had ever been," remarks his son James, "the fate of my race 'to conquer or to die in battle.'" (P. 18.)

Pedro had been married since 1204 to Maria of Montpellier, daughter of Guillaume and of Eudoxia

[1] James, himself, alludes to his father's death in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the causes of his defeat. "Don Pedro," says he, "had passed the previous night in "debauchery, and was so exhaust-"ed by it that he could hardly "stand up at mass on the ensuing "morning; so much so, that "when the priest came to the "gospel, he was obliged to sit "down. Neither would he wait "for the arrival at the camp of "several of his knights, who had "remained behind, and begged "him not to engage the enemy; "he would not listen to their "prayers, and fought the battle "with those few who were with "him." This is the only passage of the *Chronicle* where the battle of Muret, or Murel, as it is erroneously called in the two printed editions, is alluded to.

Comnène, the daughter of Manuel, Emperor of Greece. It is a singular destiny, that of both mother and daughter. Alfonso II. of Aragon having asked Eudoxia in marriage, she was about to join her future husband, when she heard, at Montpellier, that the king had already married Sancha of Castile. Guillaume then married her, and had a daughter named Maria, but shortly after he repudiated her and married Agnes (Inés), a relative of the King of Aragon. Maria's fate was equally sad; she fell a victim to Pedro's lust of power, as well as to the political views of the people of Montpellier. As Muntaner, the Chronicler, says: "King Pedro lowered himself much by such "a marriage; if he took Maria to wife, it was "merely for the sake of Montpellier, for she was "not of royal descent, though honest and of "pleasing manner enough. He, therefore, from "the very beginning deserted her, and would never "see or hear of her." Such is the account given by Muntaner and Desclot, and confirmed from hearsay by James himself in Chapter V., beginning with the words: "Now I will relate how I was begotten."[1] (P. 9.)

[1] His birth took place on the 2nd of February, 1208. The circumstances attending it, possibly much adorned by Muntaner, must have reached Bocaccio before 1358, since his *Giletta di Narbona* is evidently based upon it. To say nothing of Shakespeare, who borrowed them as the theme of his *All is well that ends well*, several Spanish dramatists, and among them Calderon, have made use of the story.

James was only six years of age on his father's death, living at Carcassonne under the keeping of Montfort, whose daughter, it appears, he was to have married according to stipulation. The Count at first refused to surrender him to his subjects; but Pope Honorius III., at the instance of the Aragonese nobles having summoned him to deliver the Royal child into the hands of his legate, Pietro di Mora, the order was promptly obeyed, an assembly of the States convoked for Lérida, and young James recognised and sworn as *dominus* and *hæres* of his father's realms, under the guardianship of the provincial Master of the Templars in the castle of Monzon; the administration of the kingdom during his minority resting in his uncle Don Sancho, Count of Roussillon, assisted by two colleagues, one for Aragon, the other for Catalonia.

We need not record here the various events of James's reign, they will be distinctly set out by his own autobiographical narrative, without dispute one of the most remarkable productions of the middle ages. It will be seen how, with a courage and wisdom hardly credible at his tender age, he contrived to establish his authority over the ambitious and turbulent nobility (*richs-homens*) of his dominions, conquer the Balearic Islands, and drive the Moslems of Valencia and Murcia to their last rampart in the Spanish Peninsula, the beautiful city of Granada, at the foot of Sierra Elvira.

Yet, upon the whole it must be owned that, apart

from his brilliant qualities as a ruler, there is little left in James's long reign to command our respect. His private conduct appears to have been exceedingly profligate. Himself the son of Pedro, a prince who revelled in debauchery, and the grandson on his mother's side of Simon de Montfort, said to have been equally licentious, James surpassed those princes in his passion for the fair sex, disregarding altogether, for the sake of its gratification, any tie of honour, religion, and even decency. His marriage with Eleanor of Castile, daughter of Alfonso IX. of Leon, was at his own solicitation declared null by Pope Gregory IX., on account of their being within the forbidden degree of consanguinity, although the Infante Alfonso, issued from the connection, had formerly been declared legitimate.[1] In 1235 he sued for, and obtained, the hand of Ioland, an Hungarian princess, the daughter of Andrew, at the time that he was about to contract, or had already contracted, a morganatic marriage with Theresa Gil de Vidaure. On the death of Ioland, in 1252, he again took to his bed his discarded wife Theresa, with whom, however, he was soon disgusted, for soon after he himself made pressing solicitations to the Holy See on the plea that some women of her household, and that princess herself, had been attacked by leprosy ; but

[1] The brief dated xii calendas Mai, and year ix of his pontificate (1235), is abstracted in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, continued by Baronius, *ann.* 1235, No. 32.

in reality because he wished to make Berenguela Alfonso, a princess of the royal blood of Castile, and the daughter of Alfonso de Molina, son of Alfonso IX. of Leon and brother of St. Ferdinand, his queen.

In 1246, as his confessor, the Bishop of Gerona, a most honourable and learned ecclesiastic, who had hitherto enjoyed his favour, undertook to reprimand him for his excesses, or, which is more probable, was imprudent enough to reveal part of his confession, he was punished by the loss of the offending member, and had his tongue severed at the root.[1] James, of course, was excommunicated,[2] his kingdom placed under interdict, and himself subjected to a penance and to finish at his own expense the monastery of St. Boniface of Morella. Yet the year before his death, the seventy-sixth of his age,

[1] As James himself does not mention the fact in his *Commentari*, the evidence rests entirely on the authority of Muntaner, Desclot, and the chroniclers of Aragon. Raynaldus (*Annales Ecclesiastici, ad annum* 1246) copies the letter written by James on the occasion —or rather the brief of Innocent IV. in reply to it—in which the king, in justification of his conduct, says that Father Castellbisbal, already Bishop of Gerona, had conspired against him, "Alias "complura contra se gravia ma- "chinando." There can be no doubt, however, that the cause of the bishop's ill-treatment was his espousing the cause of Theresa Gil de Vidaure, James's mistress, who, having learned in 1234, that James was about to contract a marriage with Ioland, daughter of Andrew, King of Hungary, applied through him to Gregory IX., then Pope.

[2] In 1237 James had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. on account of certain injuries done to the Bishop of Saragossa. What those injuries were, which caused the Papal anathema, is nowhere specified, that we are aware. We only know that at the king's own request an absolution was granted, of which the bearer was St. Raymond de Penyafort.

he forcibly carried off a married woman, who had the misfortune to please him, and when upbraided in a Papal brief for the unhappiness introduced into her family, and the scandalous example afforded to his subjects, the hoary sinner replied, with unusual bitterness, that he considered he had a right to do as he pleased in such small matters. Neither was he a particularly loving father to the many sons issued from his various morganatic marriages. In 1274 Fernan Sanchez, baron of Castro, his own natural son by a noble Aragonese lady named Blanca de Antillon, after a quarrel with his step-brother, the Infante En Pere, the presumptive heir to the crown, was surprised at Pomar, and cast into the river Cinca. On the receipt of such intelligence his father coolly observed: "I was glad to hear of "that, for it was a very hard thing that he, being "my son, should have risen against me, who had "done so much for him, and given him so honour-"able an heritage in my kingdom."!! (P. 663.)

The *Chronicle* is a commentary[1] on the principal events of James's reign (1218–76). It is divided into four parts, the first of which relates to the troubles that followed his accession to the throne down to the final conquest of the Balearic Islands in 1233. In the second, the stirring events which preceded the invasion and conquest of Valencia, and the

[1] The original title was *Commentari dels feyts esdeuenguts en la uida del molt alt senyor*, &c. Instead of "Commentari" one of the copies preserved at Barcelona has *Libre*, &c.

surrender of that capital, are graphically narrated. The third refers to the war of Murcia (1266), undertaken entirely for the benefit of his kinsman Alfonso, surnamed "the Learned," (*El Sabio*); whilst in the fourth and last, the embassies received from the Khan of Tartary, Abagha-Khan, and from the Emperor of Greece, Michael Paleologus, as well as his own unsuccessful attempt, in 1268, to lead an expedition to Palestine, are recorded.[1]

An Abstract of the *Chronicle*, or rather of that part of it, the second, which, as above stated, relates to the conquest of Valencia, was published as early as 1515 in that city,[2] the first in Spain, as generally acknowledged, to receive the admirable invention of typography;[3] the complete work, however, did not make its appearance till 1557, to satisfy, as it is emphatically stated in the preface, a "craving and requisition of Philip II." The edition, however, though handsomely printed, is anything but correct;

[1] The division, however, is not observed. The chapters follow each other numerically, and have no headings at all. Only on two occasions, after Chap. 289, and after Chap. 456—and that only in one of the copies—is something added to indicate the beginning of a new subject. The chapters have no titles of any sort, though in the Valencia edition the deficiency has been supplied by a Table of Contents, which might well have been added to this translation had it been considered of any use to the readers. Another table of *vocables obscurs* at the beginning, doing very little honour to the Valencian editor in 1557, has likewise been suppressed, and replaced by a Glossary of antiquated words used in the royal book.

[2] In the *Aureum Opus, privilegiorum Regni Valentiæ.*

[3] Barcelona has disputed for some time the priority, but on such feeble and unsupported foundations that the best Spanish bibliographers have not hesitated in giving that honour to Valencia, where the *Certamen Poetich* was printed in 1474, in 4to.

passages and even chapters are frequently omitted; indeed, had it not been for a second one made at Barcelona within the last three years, many passages would have remained for ever unintelligible.

As to its merits, this much can be said about it. It is written in a simple and manly style, which, without any pretension to elegance, sets before us in living reality the events of a long and agitated reign, frequently exhibiting a happiness of manner and phraseology which a monkish scholar of those times seldom could attain. Whether the work was undertaken in consequence of the impulse given by Alfonso the Learned to vernacular stories, and in imitation, as it were, of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, and the *Cronica General de España*, or whether the idea originated in Catalonia or Aragon, then the residence of the exiled Provençal troubadours, it is not easy to determine.[1] Most probably both James's *Commentari* and Alfonso's *Cronica* were produced in obedience to the demands of their age; but as the Aragonese king was by many years Alfonso's elder, and on more than one occasion his wise and efficient counsellor, it may be conjectured that he was the first on the field.

Was the *Chronicle* written by James himself, or

[1] Alfonso X. was born in 1221, on the 23rd of November; James thirteen years before, in 1208 (the 2nd Feb.); but as the latter began certainly to write before the conquest of Valencia (1238), and the *Cronica General* comes down to the death of Ferdinand III. in 1252, it is hard to decide to which of the two kings the priority of composition is to be ascribed.

was it the work of a contemporary historian? It has already been stated elsewhere[1] that the late Mr. Forster, its translator, firmly adhered to the almost general opinion, in and out of Spain, that the *Commentari dels feyts, &c.*, was the work of that king, and that the arguments produced by Villarroya against that assertion had no weight at all in a question of this sort. Such is also the editor's opinion. Both Marsilio, who wrote before 1314, and Muntaner (Ramon), whose chronicle bears the date of 1325,[2] must necessarily have known in their youth King James, who died in 1276, on the 26th of July, and they agree in ascribing the authorship to him. Various passages of the *Chronicle* give besides evidence of the fact, as, for instance, that of chap. xvi. (p. 29) where, whilst treating of the siege of Albarracin, in the confines of Aragon and Valencia, the King says: "I had with me at the "time . . . . Don Guerau de Poyo (Pueyo), father "of En Guillen de Puyo (Pueyo), *who is with me* "*at the time that I am writing this present book.*" The charming story of the "horeneta," or swallow, that came to rest on the top of the royal tent (p. 322) on the road to Burriana, is for us another evidence of it; no one but James could have recorded the fact. True it is that the last chapters of the *Chronicle*, in which the king himself speaks

[1] *Pref.* p. x.

[2] Of the former author (Marsilio) we only have the Spanish version by José Maria Quadrado (Palma, 1850, 4to.). Muntaner's *Cronica* was printed twice—Valencia 1558, and Barcelona 1562, fol.

of his last illness, cannot be attributed to him ; they are no doubt the work of some monk of Poblet, or scribe of the Royal *Chronicle*, who having heard of James's illness, voluntarily recorded its fatal progress, and noted the king's death. As to other kinds of argument founded on occasional anachronisms, such as the wrong date assigned to the conquest of Valencia, and other mistakes of minor importance, they have been sufficiently refuted by M. de Tourtoulon. The taking of Valencia, says the *Chronicle*, happened on Saturday, the 9th of October, 1239, whereas the date of its capitulation and surrender is 1238 ; but the difference of one year in so remarkable an event can easily be explained by the king adopting indiscriminately the two eras then in use, the Incarnation and the Nativity, the former of which ought logically to have preceded by nine days that of the latter, and his believing that the month of September, A.I. 1239, coincided with September, A.D. 1238.

Occasional mistakes of this sort prove nothing against James's authorship ; on the contrary, they constitute a further argument that the *Chronicle*, or *Commentari*, was entirely the work of that king, though we admit that the same monk of Poblet, who, as before stated, added the final chapters, may possibly have put it into its present form, either from James's dictation, or from loose materials in his own handwriting.

THE CHRONICLE

OF

JAMES OF ARAGON.

I.

THE KING'S PREFACE.

My Lord Saint James declares that Faith without works is dead; our Lord wills that that saying be fulfilled as to our deeds: and though Faith without works be worth nothing, when both are joined they bear fruit which God will receive in His mansion. And although it was that the beginning of our birth was good, yet improvement was needed by our works; not that there was not faith in us to believe in our Creator and His works, and to pray His mother that she should pray for us to her dear Son, to forgive us our sins towards Him: wherefore for the faith we had, He leads us to true salvation. And as our Lord Jesus Christ, who knows all things, knew that our life would be prolonged so that we should make addition of good works to

the faith we had, He did us so much grace and mercy that, sinners though we were, both in mortal and in venial sins, He would not that we should come to evil or harm to our shame either in court or elsewhere; neither would He that we should die till we had fulfilled our task.[1] And the grace He did us was such that He ever procured us honour from our enemies in deed and word, and gave us in our life health in body; if sometimes He sent us maladies, He did it by way of chastisement, like a father who chastises his son; for Solomon says that he who withholds from his son the rods of chastisement does him hurt, and it appears not that he loves him well. And yet our Lord did not chastise us so strongly that He did us hurt, wherefore we thanked Him when He chastised us, and more now, when we see that He did it for our good. And we remember well a saying that Holy Scripture declares, which says, "*Omnis laus in fine canitur;*" meaning this, that the best praise that a man can have is that at the last of his days. And the grace of the Lord of Glory has done to us in such wise that the word of Saint James is fulfilled: at the last of our days He brought it to pass that the work befitted our faith. And we, regarding and considering what this world is, in which men live after their fashion,

[1] Here the original has the word *aço*, which means "thus" or "in this manner."

and how small and short this life is, and how weak and full of scandal, and how the other life has glory without end, and how our Lord gives it to those who desire it and pursue it; considering also how great is His power, and how weak and little we all are; knowing and understanding fully that true saying of Scripture, "*Omnia pretereunt preter amare Deum*," which means that all the things of this world pass away and are lost, save only the love of God; knowing also that that is truth and the rest a lie, we turned our thoughts and gave our works to do the commandments of our Saviour, and left the vain glories of this world that we might attain to His kingdom; for He says in the Gospel, "*Qui vult venire post me, abneget seipsum, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*," which means in our vernacular tongue, that who will follow Him, must leave his own will for His. Again, we remembering the great favours that He many a time has done us in the course of our life, and especially at the last of our days, determined to leave our will for His. And that men may know when we have passed from this mortal life, what we have achieved by the help of the powerful Lord, in whom is true Trinity, we leave this book for a memorial to those who desire to hear of the favours our Lord did us, and for an example to all the other men of the world that they may do what we have done, that is put their faith in that Lord who is so powerful.

II.

True thing and certain is it that my grandfather, Don Alfonso [of Aragon],[1] treated of a marriage alliance to the Emperor of Constantinople, whose name was Manuel;[2] that the said Emperor should give him his daughter[3] to wife. And while parley and treaties and agreements were in hand between the two, that is, between our grandfather and the Emperor, our grandfather [Don Alfonso] made a marriage with Queen Doña Sancha, who was a daughter of the Emperor of Castille.[4] The Emperor of Constantinople, not knowing of this marriage, sent his daughter to King Don Alfonso of Aragon, who was [also] Count of Barcelona and Marquis of Provence. A bishop and two nobles who came with her, when they got to Montpellier, learned that our grandfather, King Don Alfonso, had taken to wife Queen Doña Sancha, the daughter of the Emperor of Castille. They saw themselves in great embarrassment and in great doubt as to what to do, since he (the King) had already taken

[1] Alfonso II., el Casto, or the Chaste, King of Aragon from 1172 to 1196.

[2] Emmanuel Comnene, from 1143 to 1180.

[3] Eudoxia.

[4] That is, Alfonso VIII. of Castille, born in 1106; he married, in 1128, Berenguela, or Berengère, daughter of Raimon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona. His daughter (Sancha) was married in 1174 to Alfonso II. of Aragon.

another wife. At this time En Guillen was Lord of Montpellier, and the surrounding territory. The nobles who had come with the Emperor's daughter asked him what they should do after this deceit and disappointment that had befallen them; they had come to Montpellier with the daughter of the Emperor Manuel to have her married to King Don Alfonso, and he [the King] had taken another wife! They asked him to advise them how they should act in the emergency. En Guillen de Montpellier replied that he would take counsel on it. When, therefore, he had assembled his Council, all the nobles, the knights, and the men of wealth and importance in the city advised him to keep her for his wife. Since God had done him that grace, that the daughter of the Emperor Manuel (at that time the first man among Christians) had come to the city and place where he actually was, and she (the daughter) had been disappointed of the husband she was to have; he, En Guillen, should take her to wife, and not let her go back [to Constantinople] on any account. Thereupon En Guillen framed his reply to the bishop and the nobles who came with her; and the reply which he sent them by his messengers was to this effect: that since God had done him that grace, that the Emperor's daughter should come to Montpellier, and there learn that she was not to have the husband she should have had, he himself would take her to wife. When

the Emperor's envoys heard this message, the discomfort and sorrow they had at first experienced was increased twofold, that the Emperor's daughter should take a husband who was not a King nor an Emperor; for no other man was fit for her. They, therefore, prayed him very earnestly, for his own worthiness and for God's sake, to let the Emperor's daughter go back to Constantinople, for they had promised that if the marriage were not made they would take her back to her father by land or by sea; and not to hinder them in that, for there was no just cause to do it, and she had not come there for him. Thereon En Guillen de Montpellier and his Council answered them: That it should be no otherwise.

When the Emperor's envoys perceived this their will and determination, and that it would not be otherwise, they asked for time to consider the matter; they were allowed till next day. Whereupon the bishops and nobles who had come with her, seeing that the will of En Guillen de Montpellier, and of his Council, would ultimately prevail, they thought that they would make the marriage with this condition: that if there was a son or a daughter, begotten of En Guillen de Montpellier and the Emperor's daughter, and he or she should survive, he or she should be Lord of Montpellier. They therefore went back with this answer, and told Guillen de Montpellier and his Council that

they might do them hurt, or imprison them, or take her from them, but neither with their will nor with hers would they make that marriage except in this wise: That he (En Guillen), should promise them on oath and doing homage,[1] and all the men of Montpellier of ten years and upwards should also swear to it, that any son or daughter that might be born of the said marriage, should be Lord of Montpellier, whether a man or a woman. These terms were put down in writing, whereupon En Guillen de Montpellier, having first taken counsel of his nobles and of his Council, granted the terms, and thus was the marriage made. And En Guillen de Montpellier had by that lady a daughter named Mary.[2]

III.

And in after time there was a treaty of marriage between my father, King Don Pedro,[3] and the daughter of En Guillen de Montpellier, who was Lady of that city and of all its appurtenances, it being stipulated that she should give

[1] "Ab sagrament e ab homenatge," says the text.

[2] This account of the marriage of William of Montpellier, in 1174, with Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, Emmanuel Comnenus, is accepted by history.—*Hist. du Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 376, tom. iv. p. 263, and Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. ii. cap. 33 and 54.

[3] Pedro II. of Aragon, son of Alfonso and Sancha, and father of Jacme or James. He was born in 1176, became king in 1196, and died in 1213. He was married in 1204 to Maria of Montpellier, who died in 1214.

herself and Montpellier and all its appurtenances. And so was the marriage made, and her title increased, for she was henceforward called Queen Doña Maria.

IV.

And then En Guillen de Montpellier, she living, took another lady, who was from Castille. The name of the father of that lady I do not remember, but she was called Doña Inés (Agnes), by whom the Count had that son, En[1] Guillen de Montpellier, who held Peyrolla[2] till the hour of his death, and another, En Burgunyo, and En Bernard Guillen, to whom I gave a heritage and a wife, by name Na Juliana, by descent from the mother of the name of Entença, daughter of En Pons Huc, brother of the Count of Ampurias, whose name was Huch, and one other brother whom my father brought up, whose name was Tortoseta. And that Guillen de Montpellier, the eldest son of En Guillen de Montpellier, pretended to become Lord of Montpellier, because he was a man. And contention came before the Pope, so that our mother, the Queen Doña Maria, had to travel to the court of Rome to maintain her

[1] *En* is equivalent to *Don* in Spanish, and was always prefixed to the proper names of nobles in Catalonia. *Ena ó Na* being used for the ladies.

[2] Peyrolla says the text, but it must be a misprint for Peyolla, as in the Spanish translation.

rights, and demand that I, who was her heir, might be Lord of Montpellier. And Doña Maria's claim was contested before the Pope till His Holiness sentenced in her favour, as is written in a Decretal, and declared the children of En Guillen de Montpellier and of Na Inés (Agnes) not to be born in lawful wedlock, since they were begotten in adultery, he (En Guillen) having another wife at the time. Montpellier and its country was, therefore, adjudged to Queen Doña Maria, and to me, who was her son.

V.

Now I will relate in what wise I was begotten, and how my birth was. Firstly, in what manner I was begotten. Our father, King En Pedro, would not see our mother, the Queen, and it chanced that once the King, our father, was in Lates, and the Queen, our mother, in Miravals: and a nobleman, by name En Guillen Dalcalá, came to the King, and besought him till he made him go to Miravals, where the Queen, my mother, was. And that night that both were together at Miravals, it was the will of our Lord that I should be begotten. And when the Queen, my mother, perceived that she was with child, she and my father went to Montpellier. And thus it was the will of our Lord that my birth should be in the

house of the Tornamira, the eve of our Lady Saint Mary, Candlemas day.[1] And my mother, as soon as I was born, sent me to Saint Mary's; they carried me in their arms; matins were being said in Our Lady's church, and as they took me through the porch they sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. The clergy did not notice the arrival of those who carried me, as when they entered they were singing that canticle. And then I was taken to Saint Fermin, and when those who carried me entered the church the priests were singing *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. And when they took me back to my mother's house, she was very glad because of those prognostics that had happened. And she made twelve candles all of one weight and one size, and had them lighted all together, and gave each of them the name of an Apostle, and vowed to our Lord that I should be christened by the name of that which lasted longest. And so it happened that the candle that went by the name of Saint James lasted a good three fingers' breadth more than all the others. And owing to that circumstance, and to the grace of God I was christened "En Jacme." And thus am I descended on the side of my mother and that of King En Pere, my father. All this seemed the work of

[1] From the various dates mentioned in the chronicles, and from other authentic sources, the birth of James must be assigned to the 1st of February, 1208.

God; for the agreement which our grandfather made to marry the Emperor's daughter was virtually carried out by the marriage of the descendants of that Emperor and of my father, King En Pere, and the breach of promise of the former marriage was thus repaired. And after this, as I lay in the cradle, there dropped through a trap-door over my head a great stone which fell close to the cradle; but it was our Lord's will to save me from certain death.[1]

[1] The marriage of Guillen, or Guillaume de Montpellier, with Eudoxia, daughter of Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of the East, was in 1174; and the account given in explanation of it in the text is accepted by historians. Only one child, Maria de Montpellier, was born of it, about 1182 (she stated herself in 1197 to be upwards of fifteen years old). No cause but the want of a male heir was avowed by Guillaume for driving away his wife, in 1187, and entering into a pretended marriage with one Agnes, of whom it seems known only that she was of the royal house of Aragon. (*Histoire du Languedoc*, t. v., p. 534.) His marriage contract with her appears to make no mention of his previous marriage, and declares that this was for the sake of male issue (amore procreandorum filiorum, *Hist. Lang.*, t. iv. p. 115). Having two sons by his new companion, he extorted from his daughter Maria a renunciation of her inheritance of Montpellier, on marrying her to Barral, Count of Marseilles; this must have been when she was not ten years old, for her husband died in 1192. His death seems to have been considered as annulling her renunciation; and her father forced on her another marriage, in 1197, with Bernard, Count of Comminges, when another renunciation was made by her, in favour of her two half-brothers successively; she being therein made to declare emphatically that she made it knowingly, being more than fifteen years old. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 59.) Two daughters were born of this marriage, within two years; but within that time also strife arose between husband and wife. Bernard, after failing in an application for a divorce, so treated his wife that she fled to her father, in 1200. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 69.)

Guillaume de Montpellier died in 1202, after in vain urging

VI.

My father, the King En Pere, was the most bounteous king there ever was in Spain, the most courteous and the most gracious, so that he gave

Innocent III. to declare legitimate his sons by Agnes (Innocent III. *Epist.* lib. v. ep. 128): a measure without which Maria's renunciation in their favour was of no avail. She thus became the lawful Lady of Montpellier, and as such Pedro II. desired to marry her. Through his brother-in-law, the Count of Toulouse, he promoted the Count of Comminges' repudiation of her, on the ground that when he married her there were living two ladies with whom he had gone through the ceremony of marriage as well as on the usual pretext of affinity; and in 1204 the King became Maria de Montpellier's third husband, and, consequently, stepfather of her two daughters.

A daughter, Sancha, was born to them in the next year; but Maria, in this marriage, was as unhappy as before. Pedro II. (whose conduct was licentious, even for that age) ceased to live with her, and his aversion was such, that an especial representation of the importance to Aragon of a male heir was necessary to restore a temporary union, such as was brought about by a knight of the name of Alcalá. But even the birth (2d February 1208) of the desired son did not restore peace to their household. Pedro instituted a suit for nullity of marriage against the Queen, alleging that that between her and the Count de Comminges was a valid marriage after all; she went to Rome to plead her own cause.

On the 19th February, 1213, Innocent III. decided it in her favour, giving reasons for holding that she had not been duly married to the Count de Comminges, and commanding the King to take her back to his hearth; but she lived only a few weeks longer, dying at Rome in April following. (Innocent III. *Epist.* lib. xv. ep. 221; *Hist. Lang.* t. v. pp. 207-209.)

The statement that a daughter, Sancha, was born to Pedro and Maria in the year after their marriage, rests on the authority of a treaty between the King and Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, betrothing her, with Montpellier as her dowry, to the Count's son, afterwards Raymond VII. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 89.) But other documents show that Raymond VIII.,

away much treasure, through which his revenue and lands were diminished. He was a good man at arms, as good as any in the world. Of his other good qualities I will not speak, not to lengthen this writing.

VII.

Of the Queen Doña Maria, my mother, I will say thus much, that if there was a good woman in the world it was she, in honouring and in fearing God and in other good ways that in her were. And much good could I say of her; but let me sum up by stating that she was beloved by all who knew her good qualities; that our Lord loved her so, and gave her such grace, that she is called the Holy Queen, not only at Rome, where she died, but all over the world besides. Many sick are to this day cured by drinking in water or in wine the dust scraped from her tombstone in the church of Saint Peter at Rome, near Saint Petronilla, the

in 1211, married another Sancha, the sister of Pedro II., from whom he separated in 1230, and whom he formally repudiated in 1241 (*Hist. Lang.* t. vi. p. 328.) And, besides, the present history of King James makes him solemnly declare, in a speech in Cortes (fol. xviii.), that his father and mother had no child but him.

The historians of Languedoc reconcile the conflicting documents under their eyes (the King's own declaration not being among them), by supposing the Sancha, Pedro II.'s daughter, to have died young; to which must be added the supposition that she died so mere an infant that even King James had lost sight of her existence, which is not wholly improbable.

daughter of Saint Peter. And look ye who peruse this writing. Is it not a miraculous thing that my grandfather, King Don Alfonso, promised that the Emperor's daughter should be his wife, and yet he took afterwards Queen Doña Sancha? And it was the will of Our Lord that that promise that the King had made first, that is, that the daughter of the Emperor Manuel should be his wife, should come round, that it ended in that the granddaughter of the Emperor Manuel was afterwards wife of our father, of whom I myself came. And thus it was the work of God that that agreement which was not completed in that time was fulfilled afterwards, when my father took to wife the granddaughter of the Emperor.

VIII.

And after my birth, En Simon de Montfort, who had the land of Carcassonne and Badarres,[1] and of Toulouse, what the King of France had conquered, desired to have friendship with my father, and asked for me, that he might bring me up at his court. And my father trusted so much in Montfort and in his friendship, that he delivered me to him to bring up.[2] And being in

[1] Bedarrieux (Biterre) in the county of Béziers.

[2] Zurita, *Anales*, II. c. 63, explains this, by stating that Simon de Montfort was to marry his daughter and heiress to the young prince Jacme.

his (Montfort's) power, the people of the above-named countries came to my father and said to him that he might well become the lord of those countries, if he would only occupy them. And King En Pere, my father, was liberal and compassionate, and for the pity that he had of the deputies, said that he would take possession; but they deceived him with fair words, for if on one hand they gave him promises, on the other they were deficient in deeds. And I afterwards heard it said by En Guillen de Cervera, and Arnau de Castellbó, and En Dalmau de Crexel, and others, who were then with my father, that the deputies said to him, "My "lord, here are our castles and our towns; take "possession of them, and put your own officers "(*batles*) in them." And when my father was about to take possession of the land they said, "My lord, "how will you turn our wives out of our houses? "We and they will be yours; we will doy our will." But they did nothing they had promised him. And they showed him their wives and their daughters, and their kinswomen, the fairest they could find; but when they knew that he was a woman's man, they took away his good thoughts, and turned them to what they wished.[1] However, as it would take me too long a time to relate those things, I will pass on to more important matters.

[1] "Com gitarets nostres mullers de nostres cases, mes nos e eles ne seren vostres, en faren vostra volentat. E per aquesta manera

IX.

En Simon de Montfort was at Murel with from eight hundred to a thousand horsemen and my father came on him there. And there were with him from Aragon Don Miguel de Luzia and Don Blascho de Alagon, Don Roderich Liçana, Don Ladron and Don Gomes de Luna, Don Miquel de Rada, Don Guillen de Puyo, Don Açnar Pardo, and others of his household, besides several more whose names I cannot remember, though I recollect very well hearing some of them say that, with the exception of Don Gomes, Don Miquel de Rada, Don Açnar Pardo, and some of my father's household who were killed in the battle, all the rest abandoned him and fled. There were from Catalonia, En Dalmau de Crexel, e Nuch (En Huch) de Mataplana, En Guillen Dorta (de Horta), and En Berenguer de Castel Bisbal, who also fled with the others. I also recollect hearing, and indeed know well, for certain, that Don Nuno Sanxes and En Guillen de Montcada, the son of En Guillem Ramon de Montcada and of Na [1] Guillema

noli atenyen ço que li prometien, e mostrauen li llurs mullers, e llurs filles, e llurs parentes les plus belles que podien trobar. E can sabien que ell era hom de fembres tolien li son bon proposit, e feyan lo mudar en ço que ells volien."

[1] *Na* is the feminine for *En*, a prefix then much used in Catalonia, equivalent of *Don* and *Doña* in Castillian. See above, p. 8, *note* 1.

de Castelvi, were not in the battle; they sent a message to the King that he should wait for them; but the King would not wait, and fought the battle with those few who were with him. The night of the day that the battle was fought the King had passed in debauchery, so that as I afterwards heard his own seneschal, called Gill (who became afterwards Knight Hospitaler), and many other eye-witnesses say, the King was so exhausted by the preceding debauch, that he could not stand up [at mass], when it came to the Gospel, but kept his seat all the while it was read.[1] And before the battle, En Simon de Montfort wished to put himself in his power, and do his will. He wanted to come to terms with him, but my father would not accept of them. And when Count Simon and those within (Murel) saw that, they confessed and received the body of Jesus Christ, and said, "We will rather die in the field than here, shut up in this town." And thereon they came out to fight in a body. On my[1] father's side the men did not know how to range for the battle, nor how to move together; every baron fought by himself and against the order of war (*natura darmes*). Thus,

[1] "Havia jagut ab una dona, si que nos hoym dir puix a son reboster qui hauia nom *Erf*, e puix fo frare del Spital, qui auia stat en aquell consell, e de altres que ho verem per sos ulls, que anch al Evangeli no poch star de peus, ans se assecha a son siti mentre quel deyen." The name of Jacme's stewart (*reboster*) is said in the *Chronicle*, c. viii. f. 4, to have been *Erf*, as in the above text, but he is called elsewhere *Gil*.

through bad order, through our sins, and through the Murelians fighting desperately since they found no mercy[1] at my father's hands, the battle was lost. There died my father, for such has ever been the fate of my race, to conquer or die in battle. During this time I was at Carcassona, in the Count's power, for he was, as I said, bringing me up, and had possession of that place.

X.

And thereupon my born subjects [of Aragon] demanded me, and made war on the French, and on the lands they occupied: that is, Don Nuno Sanxes and En Guillen de Cardona, father of En Ramon Folch [de Cardona]. Besides carrying on war from Narbonne and other places, a mission was sent to Pope Innocent III., begging he should take council and put pressure on En Simon de Montfort by interdict or otherwise, that he might give me up, since I was their liege lord, and there was no other son of my father born in lawful marriage but me. That apostolic Pope Innocent was the best of Popes. For a hundred years before the time that I am writing this book, there had not been so good a Pope in all the Church of Rome, for he was

[1] "E per la merce que noy trobaren aquels que eren de dins." Refers, no doubt, to the refusal by the King of Montfort's offer to treat. The Spanish version omits this sentence.

a good clerk in that sound learning that a Pope should have; he had a good natural sense, and great knowledge of the things of this world. He sent such strong letters, and such sturdy envoys to Count Simon, that this latter had to consent to restore me to my subjects. The French brought me as far as Narbonne, whither many of the noblemen and citizens of Catalonia went, and received me. I might then be six years and four months old. When they got to Catalonia, a consultation was held as to who should bring me up. All agreed that the Master of the Temple should bring me up at Monzon. The name of that Master was En Guillen de Montredon; he was a native of Osona,[1] and Master of the Temple in Aragon and Catalonia.

XI.

An order was then issued in Council, in my name and under a new seal made expressly for me, convoking Cortes at Lerida, for the Catalans and Aragonese; at which the Archbishop [of Tarragona], the bishops, the abbots, the noblemen of each kingdom, and ten men from each city, were to be present, furnished with powers from the rest to approve that which might be done by all. All

[1] Vich, in Catalonia, called Ausona during the Roman domination.

came on the day fixed for the Cortes, save Don Fernando and Count Don Sancho, each of whom hoped to be King.[1] All swore to protect my body and my limbs, and my lands, and to keep and defend me in everything, and against every one. The place where the Cortes were held was the Archbishop En Asparech's palace; he, who was of the house of Barca, and our relative; he held me in his arms. The palace, which is now vaulted over, was then built of wood, the ceremony of the oath taking place under the window where the kitchen now is for those who eat in the palace.[2]

The oath being taken, the Cortes separated. The Master of the Temple then took me to Monzon, and I stayed there two years and a half uninterruptedly. All the revenues my father had in Aragon and Catalonia were pledged to the Jews

[1] Zurita, *Anales* ii. c. 66, explains that "Don Sancho, Count of Roussillon, and the Infante Don Fernando, uncles of the King, went out alienating and stirring up the people of the kingdom, each thinking that the succession belonged to him, *notwithstanding it had been declared that the marriage of the Queen Doña Maria had been according to the rules and direction of the Church.*" What has been said of the marriage well accounts for attempts to throw doubt on the legitimacy of King James. Fernando, the third son of Alfonso II., and brother of Pedro II., had been brought up as an ecclesiastic, a Cistertian monk and abbot of Montaragon, but had of his profession only the revenues. Pedro II. gave him, in 1204, the countship of Roussillon. Sancho was the King's *great* uncle, being the third son of his great grandfather, Ramon Berenguer, the *Prince* of Aragon.—Zurita, *Anales* ii. c. 25, c. 50, c. 66, c. 76.

[2] "Sús el palau de uolta qui ara es, e laores era de fust, a la finestra on ara es la cuyna per on dona hom a menjar a aquels qui mengen en lo palau."

and Saracens, as also all the fiefs (*honors*) which rented at that time seven hundred "cauallerias" or knights' fees.[1] My father, King Don Pedro, had given away or sold them all except one hundred and thirty of them, and when I entered Monzon I had no food for one day, the land being so wasted and mortgaged.

XII.

And while I was in Monzon, there were bands and feuds among the noblemen of Aragon: Don P. Ahones[2] and Don Atorela Palasin, Don Exemen Dorrea and Don Arnau Palasin, Don Berenguer de Benavent and Don Blasco Maça, and others, whose names I do not remember now. Some noblemen and knights made band and party with the Count of Roussillon Don Sancho, their chief, and followed his leading, whilst Don Pedro Fernandez de Albar-

[1] "*Honors*" in the old feudal language of France was often synonymous of *fief*, and served to designate all manner of land property.

In Aragon *honors* were the towns or estates, the revenues of which were by the King given to the "ricos-hombres" or barons, who in their turn distributed them to *caballeros* (knights). The revenue was then called "cavalleria;" it was a true military benefice, and represented what might be called the honorary of a knight. A large portion of the towns and villages of Aragon was thus distributed among the barons, and held "in honour" under certain conditions, either directly from the barons or from the knights themselves. The *honors*, however, were not hereditary like the "fiefs," properly so called; at the beginning of each reign the King could re-take them, and make a new distribution. The right, however, was not exercised with great regularity.

[2] En Pere Ahones, also written Aones and Aunes.

racin, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Blasco Dalagó held with Don Fernando, and made him their chief. Don Pedro Cornel, and Don Valles[1] Dantilló had no land or *honor* yet, because they were too young; they sometimes sided with one party, at other times with the other. And Don Exemen Corneyl was already an old man; he grieved for the evils that he saw so great in Aragon, for he was the wisest man in all Aragon, and the best adviser. And at times, several of the above-named came to Monzon, and entreated me to go out of the castle with them, that I might go to their side and destroy the other.

XIII.

And when I was nine years old, they could not keep us in Monzon, neither me nor the Count of Provence[2] my cousin, who was also there; as I, considering it was necessary for the country, wished to go. It was then agreed by the Master and the others that they should let me leave the place. And, accordingly, full seven months before I left Monzon, there came a message to the Count of Provence from the noblemen of his country, that on a certain day they would come with a galley to Salou, and secretly

[1] In the Spanish translation Don Volés, which is decidedly a misprint.

[2] Ramon Berenguer descended from the Counts of Barcelona, and cousin of James.

take him out of the castle of Monzon, and that they would go with him to Provence; and as it was planned by them, so it was done. And when the Count had to leave, he said that he wished to speak to me; and he disclosed his secret, and took leave of me, weeping, as did also those who came for him; and I wept with him and with them for grief of our parting; and yet I was very glad that he went away. And next day, at dusk, the Count left the castle with En Pere Auger, who brought him up, and two squires of his, and they passed that night and went through Lerida in disguise, and next night went to Salou, and the Count went on board the galley, and got away to Provence. And that men may know my age and his at this juncture, the Count was then two years and a half older than I was.

XIV.

And when the Templars saw that the Count of Provence had gone away without their knowledge, they perceived that my stay in the place was no longer good for them. On the other hand, when Count Don Sancho heard of the departure of the Count of Provence, it vexed him much; and when he and those of his party in Aragon knew of it, they wished to take possession of the kingdom. Whereupon I sent a message to Don Pedro

Fernandez, and to Don Rodrigo Liçana and their party, and to En G. de Cervera, to come to me at Monzon, as for every reason I wished to leave that town immediately. They assured me that they would help and support me with all their power. And when Count Don Sancho heard this he made a compact with those on his side, and said that he would willingly cover with scarlet silken cloth[1] as much ground as I, and those with me, went over in Aragon beyond the Cinca. And I left Monzon at dawn, and when I got to the bridge my company was waiting for me, and they told me that Count Don Sancho was at Selgua with all his forces, and that he would fight me. I was not more than nine years old at the time, and for the battle that was expected a knight (whose name I do not recollect) lent me a light coat of mail or hauberk (*gonio*), which I put on, and that was the beginning, the first arms that I ever took. And I went that day to Berbegal without meeting with any opposition on the road; and next day I entered Huesca; thence I went to Zaragoza, this being the first time that I was in Aragon.[2] The people were very glad at my coming.

[1] "Perset vermeill" are the words. Perhaps "perset" is meant for silken cloth manufactured or coming from Persia. Raimond de Miraval, a troubadour of the twelfth century, says:—

"Mantel non es de *pesset* ni de saia."

[2] Monzon is, however, in Aragon.

XV.

And when in Zaragoza, Don Pedro Fernandez and those above-named being with me, a message came to say that Don Rodrigo Liçana had taken prisoner Don Lope de Alvaro,[1] a relative of Don Rodrigo Liçana, and that Don Pelegrin de Trosillo[2] had taken the daughter of Don Lope de Alvaro to wife. And Pelegrin and his brother, Don Gil, asked and besought me for love and mercy's sake that I should give counsel and aid as to the imprisonment of Don Lope de Alvaro, inasmuch as Don Rodrigo Liçana had taken him when he was not on his guard against him, and without having first defied him, and had taken from him the castle and town of Alvaro and fully ten thousand "cafizes"[3] of grain, besides doing him other harm, as well to the Christian as to the Saracen inhabitants of Alvaro. And all those who were with us at the time thought the thing ill done, and also all the Aragonese who knew of it. And it was resolved by my Council, for I had not yet judgment enough to advise myself and others, that I

[1] Lop. Dalveró, or d'Alveró, seems to have been his right name.

[2] Elsewhere d'Atrocil and Atrossil. Pelegrin is generally written Palegrí, which is the Catalonian form of that name.

[3] *Cafiz*, in Castillian *cahiz*, is a nominal measure, equivalent to twelve *fanegas*, or English bushels. Both *cafiz* and *fanega* are derived from the Arabic; the former from قفيز, the latter from فنيقة, a sack.

should march against Don Rodrigo, assist Don Lope de Alvaro, release him from prison, and repair all the damage done to him. And so I did, for I marched against Alvaro with a "fonevol"[1] that I had caused to be made at Huesca. And when the "fonevol" had battered the castle for two consecutive days, those whom Don Rodrigo had put in for garrison surrendered. I then departed thence, and went to Liçana, where Don Rodrigo held Don Lope de Alvaro prisoner, and the castle was also besieged. And inside were Don Pedro Gomez and another knight, whose name I forget, and several esquires and other company; Don Pedro Gomez was chief of all of them, and governor of the castle, and the greatest and best man of them all. And I set up the "fonevol," and that was in May; and when it was ready it threw no less than five hundred stones in one night, and one thousand more in one day. And about the time of vespers the stones had broken down so much of the wall that a great breach had been made. And the cry for the assault went through the army. Every one armed himself and the fight commenced; and those of the army outside fought the enemy with lance and shield, and so did the crossbowmen, who were there, in my camp. The "fonevol" did

[1] *Fonevol*, from the Latin *fundibulus* or *funnibulus*, was a sort of war-engine, which threw out very large stones as a *funda* honda, or sling would do.

not cease throwing stones; it shot in such wise, and the fight was so hard, that many of the squires and others in the place were wounded. When Don Pedro Gomez saw that the castle which he held for his lord was being lost, he himself, clad in armour, his shield on his arm, his iron cap on his head, and his sword in his hand, took his stand on the breach like a man who wished to die rather than live. Meanwhile the "fonevol" was doing great execution,[1] and Don Pedro was up to his knees in the earth and dust which had been raised by the crumbling of the wall. But still the fight was maintained so that no one could mount the breach, though there were men good enough for the task, and who wished to do it. There was among them a squire, whose name I do not remember at the present moment, but believe it to have been Don Pedro Garcés de Alfaro. He had put on a hauberk (*gonio*) and an iron cap on his head, and taken a sword in his hand. Thus armed he went as far as his feet could carry him, and began to mount the breach, so that Don Pedro Gomez could not prevent his mounting, for he could not help himself, so buried was he in the earth of the ruined wall. In this manner the army mounted the breach, and the castle was taken. And I got possession of Don Pedro de

[1] "El fonevol que feya de grans errades;" so in both the printed editions. I think the meaning must be that given above.

Alvaro, who, as above-stated, was a prisoner inside. After this Don Rodrigo Liçana, who was a friend of Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, spoke to Don Pedro Gomez and advised him to depart from the castle, and thus escape the calamities of war, offering, if he did so, to receive him and give him shelter at Santa Maria de Albarracin. And so Don Pedro Fernandez, who was with me at my entry into Aragon, joined Don Rodrigo, and both renounced my allegiance, and did me all the harm they could from that hour ever after. On the other hand Don Pedro Aones[1] and his party joined our side, and were with me at the capture of those two castles (Alvaro and Liçana), and Don Exemen Corneyl,[2] the greatest person in Aragon (except my uncle Ferdinand) was also on my side at that time, because he was wiser than the rest.

XVI.

There was at this time talk of a marriage between the niece of Don Exemen Corneyl, sister of Don Pedro Corneyl, and Don Pedro Aones, who was to take her to wife. And I, therefore, summoned my army in the summer and went against Albarracin. I pitched my tents in front of the Andador

[1] See above, Ahones and Aunes.

[2] Elsewhere Cornel and Corneil, and *Pedro* for Pere, according as the author chose the Castillian or Catalonian appellative.

tower, on a hill commanding it, and I think I was at that siege about two months, a little more or less. And I had there a "mangonel"[1] made, which battered the Andador tower, and besides that had the "fonevol" surrounded by palisades for greater protection. And inside the town there were fully a hundred and fifty knights, Castillians, Aragonese and Navarrese, commanded by Don Pedro Fernandez [de Açagra] himself, the lord of the place, and by Don Rodrigo Liçana. I had with me Don Exemen Corneyl, and En Pere Corneyl, and En Guerau de Cervera, and Don Vallés [D'Antilló], and Don Pedro Aones and Don Pelegrin, his brother, and Don Guerau de Puyo, father of that G. de Puyo, who is with me at the time that I am writing this present book. And there were there men from Lerida, Zaragoza, Calatayud, Daroca, and Teruel. All the noblemen, who then followed my banners, did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty knights, for I was still a child, not more than eleven years old at the time. And all that I then did was done by the advice of the noblemen who were with me. For reason was it that, since I knew not how to govern my own land or give advice as was needed, others should advise me. So it was that the relatives and friends of Don Pedro Fernandes, who were then with me, kept sending messages to the besieged, informing them

[1] The "mangonel," also called "fonevol" or war-engine, as immediately appears. *Almanjanech*, was a kind of

of our plans; day and night knights and squires went away from our camp in sight of our army, entered Albarracin, told the besieged what we were doing, besides carrying crossbows and supplies into the town. And except Don Pedro Aones and his brother Don Pelegrin and Don G. de Puyo, all the rest served me badly and acted so treacherously as they could. In this way those who were with me made known to those, who were in the town, the night that Don Pelegrin would guard the "mangonel." And he and En G. de Puyo were on guard that night. And when midnight came the besieged prepared their torches, and came out to the palisades with all their power of knights and squires, and all the footmen they had in the place. And they brought out burning torches to fire the "fonevol" with. And Don Pelegrin and Don G. de Puyo, who were on guard, went out to attack them; but those who were with them seeing the great numbers of the enemy coming from the town abandoned them and fled. And Don Pelegrin de Aones[1] and Don G. de Puyo were slain there, for they had more dread of shame than the rest, and would not run away. The "fonevol" was burnt, and yet none of the army would give help. And, thereupon, when my Council saw that I was betrayed and ill served by my own subjects, they advised me to raise the siege; and so it was done, for there were as many knights in the

[1] Elsewhere "Ahones."

place, or more, than I myself had outside. And I could not take council about it, nor had I any one to consult, being only eleven years old at the time.

XVII.

So was the siege of Albarracin raised.[1] One year and a half after this Queen Doña Berengaria, the mother of King Don Ferdinand,[2] proposed to me a marriage with a sister of hers, whose name was Doña Leonor. Both were daughters of King Don Alfonso,[3] who had the following sons and daughters, namely: Queen Doña Blanca, who was married to King Louis of France, son of King Philip; Doña Beranguela (Berengaria), wife to the King of Leon, father of King Don Ferdinand, whose name was Don Alfonso;[4] another was Doña Urraca, who was Queen of Portugal; and another

[1] Albaraccin (Albarrací) had been taken from the Moors by the father of Don Pedro Fernandes de Azagra, who acknowledged no sovereign, saying that he was the vassal of Saint Mary, to whom he dedicated the principal church.

[2] Ferdinand III., or Saint Ferdinand, of Castille.

[3] Alfonso VIII. of Castille. The kings of Leon and those of Castille, before the union of the crowns, were nevertheless numbered as if of the same dynasty. Thus Alfonso VI. was so called because he was the *sixth* king of that name in Leon, though the *first* in Castille; and this king Alfonso VIII. was so styled, though he never reigned in Leon, and was only the third of the Alfonsos who reigned in Castille. So there reigned at the same time, in Castille and in Leon respectively, one Alfonso VIII. and another Alfonso IX.

[4] Alfonso IX. of Leon.

was Doña Leonor, whom I myself afterwards took to wife. Besides these daughters, King Alfonso of Castille had two sons: the Infante Don Fernando and the Infante Don Henrique, who afterwards became king of Castille. The Infante Don Fernando died before his father, King Don Alfonso, whereupon, on the death of Don Alfonso, Don Henrique was made king. And in play with some lads of his age, one of them struck him with a tile on the head, and he died. The thing happened thus: the Infante had divided the lads, some on one side, some on the other. He himself put himself on the side of those who fought on a hillock to represent a castle; he was struck by a tile on his head, and died of the blow.[1] And so the kingdom fell to Doña Berenguela (Berengaria) whose son, Don Ferdinand, became king of Castille.

XVIII.

And thus, by advice of my great vassals, I took to wife the Infanta Doña Leonor, for my father had left no son but me. They advised me to marry while still young, because they said they were in great anxiety for my life, either from maladies or from poison. And likewise because they wished on my account that I should leave an heir,

[1] Don Henrique died on the 6th of June, 1217.

so that the kingdom might not go out of the royal line; for Count Don Sancho, son of the Count of Barcelona, and Don Fernando, my uncle, son of King Don Alfonso, wished each to be king, and had both tried for it in my childhood whilst I was at Monzon, as before related. And from apprehension of that evil, they advised me to take to wife, as aforesaid, the daughter of King Alfonso of Castille. Such was the advice of En Exemen Corneyl, and of En G. de Cervera, who were then my head councillors, and of En G. de Montcada, who was killed in Mallorca, and of others whose names I do not remember now. And I married her, the Infanta Doña Leonor, at Agreda [in Castille].

XIX.

And then I was made a knight in Saint Mary's of Orta, off Tarazona,[1] where having first heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, I girt myself with a sword, which I took from the altar. At that time I had completed my twelfth year, and was entering upon the thirteenth: I was, however, one whole year with my wife before I consummated the marriage, for I was not old enough for that.

[1] On the western frontier of Aragon. Agreda, where he married Queen Leonor, is in Castille at a few miles distance.

XX.

The marriage done, I went into Aragon and Catalonia, and my wife, the Queen, with me, when all the barons[1] strove with one another to become my confidents, in order that what I did should be done on their advice. And it came to pass that Don Nuño[2] Sanchez, son of Count En Sancho, to whom my father had given Roussillon and Conflant and Cerdagne for life, had once had great friendship with En Guillen de Montcada; but, owing to a quarrel which the said Don Nuño Sanchez picked with En Guillen de Cervello about a falcon, which the latter would not give or sell to the other, both became angry, and spoke ill to each other. Upon which En Guillen de Montcada said to Don Nuño that thenceforth he would not be his friend, and Don Nuño replied that since he (Montcada) did not desire his friendship, so he did not desire his. He told him besides not to trust on him any longer, as he would not thenceforwards be his friend. And thereon En Guillen de Montcada made up friendship and alliance with Don Pedro Fernandes [de Açagra]

[1] The word rendered here and elsewhere by "barons" is *rich homes*, in Castillian *ricos hombres*; *rich* being taken for "powerful," rather than for "abounding in richesses."

[2] Nuño (*sic*) is the Castillian form of this name. In Catalonia and Valencia it would be written Nunyo, as Munyoz instead of Muñoz, &c.

and with his party, whilst Don Nuño contrived to make, and actually made friendship and alliance with Don Fernando and with Don Pedro Ahones[1] and with their party. And some time after this En G. de Montcada and En Pere Fernandes prepared to come to Monzon for the Cortes, which had been convoked of such prelates and knights as could there be assembled, and there came full three hundred of them; and they all came to a town belonging to the Temple, which is called Valcarca. And Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones got together their retainers and came to Casteyló del Pont de Monzon.[2] And as I was going from Lerida to the said Cortes at Monzon, Don Nuño met me on the road, and asked me for assistance and advice, telling me that if I refused, he would infallibly meet with great dishonour or death at the hand of his enemy. And upon my asking what dishonour that might be, he said to me: "My lord, "there is Don Guillen de Montcada, who is coming "here, and Don Pedro Fernandes [de Azagra] with "him; and, as you know, I and Don Guillen have "fallen out of friendship. They will be to-morrow "at Valcarca with full three hundred knights, and "they want to pick a quarrel with me, and in "some way or other give me the lie, or utter words

[1] Elsewhere written Aunes, and Aones. See above, pp. 3, 21. Pere Fernandes is for Pedro Fernandez de Azagra.

[2] Castejon de S. Juan (?), a short distance to the north of Monzon. Valcarca, or Valltarcha, is a few miles south-east of Monzon.

"of dishonour, which I cannot but return. And "if I do return them, I apprehend that they will "kill me or do me some affront as bad as "death."

At that time I was only fourteen years old. I told Don Nuño that his words had grieved me immensely, inasmuch as I considered an affront done to him equal to an affront to my own person, owing to the close relationship there was between him and me. And as to what he had complained of, I answered him that I would take such counsel as to prevent that harm and affront he was afraid of. And that I would do thus: As soon as I had entered Monzon, I would send for the chief men of the town to come to me, and would say to them this much:—"I pray and command you that you "guard the town and bar all the gates, and keep "porters and armed men at them, so as to hinder "any baron or knight from entering it by day or "night, without your first letting me know of it. "And if they insist upon coming in, let only one "knight enter with a couple of mounted retainers at "a time, and no more." And so it was. And when Don Nuño heard what I had done for him, both for the sake of his honour and my own, he said that he thanked me as much as he could, and knew well that I loved him, and was confident that I had formed such a resolution as would spare him affront and death. And upon this there came to the gates of

Monzon En G. de Montcada and Don Pedro Fernandez with all their power, but neither of them was allowed to enter the town save with two retainers each, as had been ordered, whilst Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones entered with as many more. And when En G. de Montcada and Pedro Fernandez saw that they could not carry out their plan, they had to desist and go away. Many injurious and threatening words did Montcada and Fernandez utter on this occasion, but I forbade it, and told them that if they said anything injurious to Don Nuño they would pay for it; and so Don Nuño went away in honour, and they, having failed in their attempt, also departed.

XXI.

After that I went into Aragon. And soon after En Guillen de Montcada began to assemble his men in Catalonia, and Don Nuño was informed thereof. I was then at Huesca, and the Queen also; and Count Don Sancho and Don Nuño came to me, and told me, in the presence of the Queen, that En Guillen de Montcada was about to enter Roussillon at the head of considerable forces, for the purpose of doing harm to the latter, and wasting the land that my father had given to him, and was ultimately to revert to me. And he prayed me,

and called on me for love and grace, that I should help him against those, who were trying to bring harm and shame on him, as he and his father (he said) had no relations and friends in Aragon and Catalonia but me. He was quite ready to do right to any man who had complaint to make of him, but he entreated me to help and protect him, so great was the faith and hope he had in me; for, while En Guillen de Montcada had plenty of relatives and friends to do his bidding, he himself had no friends to defend him but me. And Don Nuño besides, then and there pledged his most solemn word and that of Don Ato de Foces and Don Blasco Maça, and his own holdings in Roussillon, as well as theirs, which my father in his time had given him, that he would do full right to En Guillen de Montcada or any other man who should bring complaint against him. And upon this I sent my letters to En Guillen de Montcada, commanding him not to do Don Nuño any harm, since he had put security in my hands that he would do right to whomsoever asked him for it. But Montcada cared little for all this, and did not desist from his undertaking; on the contrary, he entered Roussillon with his followers, and took with shield and lance a castle called Avalri, which belonged to one En Ramon de Castell Rosello, and thence went to Perpignan, wherein was one En Jaçpert de Barberá, who had thrown himself into it to do service to Don

Nuño; but Muntcada so harassed the people inside that they made a sally and were defeated, and in that raid En Jaçpert de Barberá[1] was taken prisoner. Seeing that my letters to En Guillen de Montcada were of no use at all, that he would not obey my orders, but went on doing hurt to Don Nuño, and had entered Roussillon against him, I summoned my forces in Aragon, and went against him, and took one hundred and thirty fortresses, castles, and towers from him and his supporters. I also took Cervellon,[2] the siege of which lasted thirteen days. And thereupon I went to besiege the castle of Montcada, and En Guillen threw himself hastily into it, and Don Pedro Cornel, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Vallés Dantilló, and En Bernat de Sancta Eugenia, brother of En Ponç G. de Torreela,[3] were with him; and I was then not more than fourteen years old. And there were with me Count Don Sancho, and Don Nuño, and Don Fernando, and Don Pedro Ahones, and Don Ato de Foces, and Don Artal de Luna, and some of my own great vassals of Aragon; and there might be in all four hundred knights, whilst those inside the castle might be about one hundred and thirty

[1] The text, which is rather obscure, has, "E era en Gisbert de Barbará llains que sen era mes per fer seruici a don Nuno: e broca en aquells de la vila, si que exiren de fora, e haguerense a venere aquells de Perpinyá."

[2] Cervelló according to the Catalonian form. See above, p. 22.

[3] En Ponce de Torredel says the Spanish version.

knights. And I summoned En Guillen de Montcada to surrender his castle; and he answered that he would willingly have given it to me had I asked for it in another way; but whereas I had done him great wrong by coming down with such a strong force against him, he thought that it was dishonourable for him to surrender his castle, and would not, as in fact he did not. And I encamped with my force on a hillock against the town, on which the market was held, and remained there three months, a little more or less. And had it not been for the supplies the besieged obtained from our own camp by the connivance of the Aragonese, who were with us (the Catalans from Barcelona also furnishing them with provisions against the money of the Aragonese in our camp service) the besieged would have surrendered, as they had not food for three days. Being yet a child, I really knew not how to obviate this, all those who were with me, excepting only Don Sancho and Don Pedro Ahones, being then much displeased at my trying to do harm to those inside the castle, which is certainly one of the strongest in Spain, and one which, being well garrisoned, could not be taken save by famine, for it has water enough from a spring rising on the side towards the north, and this no man could take from the besieged unless the castle itself was first taken. And so I was obliged to raise the siege and return to Aragon; upon which En Guillen de

Montcada sallied out against Terraça, which he took, its garrison taking refuge in the castle; and went thence to Sarboç, which he also took and destroyed; and came lastly to Piera, which he could not take. And he and Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones came to an agreement; and En Guillen de Montcada entered Aragon and came to Tahust,[1] which Don Pedro Ahones held of me as an "honour;" and in that agreement between them were included Zaragoza, Huesca, and Jaca. I was then in Alagon, and on my side were Don Nuño, and Don Pedro Fernandez, and Don Blasco d'Alagó,[2] and Don Artal, and Don Rodrigo Liçana; in Alagon itself were only Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez, and Don Ato. And thereon there was negotiated a compact of friendship between Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Pedro Ahones, that they would stand by Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez against all men; and Don Lop Xemenis de Luziá, vassal of Don Nuño, brother of Ruy Xemenis, negotiated that. And they sent me a message saying that they would willingly come to me, and would do in everything my will, but that they had made agreement by

[1] Tauste.

[2] Alagon, a town of Aragon, in the province of Saragossa, twenty-one miles to the north-west of that capital. Don Blasco d'Alagó, or Dalagó, was at this time the lord of it; for in Catalonia proper names ending in *on* lose generally the final *n*, as Cervelló, Antilló, Rosselló, which in Castillian would be Cervellon, Antillon, &c.

oath and by writing; so Don Nuño and Don Pedro told us on their behalf. And therefore they prayed me to go out and receive Don Fernando, who was my uncle, and En Guillen de Montcada, who was an honourable man, and Don Pedro Ahones. I accordingly went out, and told them that it was winter and late in the day, and that they should come in with only four or five knights, and leave their companies in the villages outside. And thereupon it was settled that I myself should go home to my own house, and so I did, whilst they remained, as agreed, at the gates of the town, which I had ordered to be closed behind me. But Don Nuño and Don Pedro, to whom I had given charge of the gates, let in as many as wished to come in, without my knowledge; and in this manner there entered fully two hundred of the knights, who had come with them into Alagon. And I was then a boy, not more than fifteen years old; and I said to the Queen Doña Leonor, "Know ye that all the knights who "came with Don Fernando and with En Guillen de "Montcada and with Don Pedro Ahones, are already "inside the town?"[1] Great indeed was my astonishment thereat. I asked those who guarded the gates why had they allowed them to enter the city, and who had let them in. And they told me that

[1] "Sapiats que tots los caualers son entrats qui venien ab don Ferrando e ab en G. de Muncada, e ab Don Pero Ahones. E vels vos aqui en Alago, e marauellam nos molt de aquesta cosa."

Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez had let them enter. I then said to myself, "By St. Mary! "great treason is this; that those in whom I trusted "should thus betray me, bringing my enemies inside "the town!"

XXII.

And when morning came, I went to hear mass in the great church of Alagon; and above, in the choir, where the priests chaunted, were Don Fernando, and Don Guillen de Montcada, and Don Pedro Ahones and Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra and Don Nuño, who was supposed to be of my side; but they all seemed then to be of one mind. And Don Fernando stood up and said: "Sir, "you know well how near of kin I am to you, and "that I am a brother of your father. I will not do any- "thing to displease you, and therefore am I come "here with Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Pedro "Ahones, to obey your commands as our Lord; as to "war with you we will have none." And, thereupon, En Guillen de Montcada[1] stood up and said: "Sir, "what men say that you wish us ill, is great evil to "us; and pray bethink you come to Zaragoza and "enter into our city and our homes; there you can "better say and act as you please; we are all pre- "pared to do your bidding." And Don Pedro

[1] The name of this nobleman is variously written throughout this *Chronicle*: Montcada, Muntcada, and Moncada.

Ahones said: "Enter Zaragoza; we are ready to do towards you as towards our Lord." And thereupon they cajoled me so with fair tales and words, that I entered the city next day. And when I was inside and in my own palace, called La Suda,[1] at the Toledo[2] gate, they came and told us after sunset that there were fully one hundred armed men between the aforesaid gate and a postern there was close by, through which one got to the city wall. Soon after Guillen Boy and Pere Sanz de Martel came, sent by the people of Zaragoza, and entered my house; they had their beds made, and laid down where the women usually lay. Meanwhile, the Queen, hearing the noise of the armed men who remained outside, and of those who had entered the house to lie down before us, took to weeping very bitterly. I comforted her as well as I could. And there came in before me the said Guillen Boy and Pere Sanz de Martel; and Guillen Boy said to the Queen, "Lady," said he, "do not weep; for soon you "will be comforted; tears destroy reason; and all "those tears of yours will turn to joy, and your anger "will pass away." This state of things lasted fully three weeks; the guard, and they (Boy and Sanz) lying down before us. Then came Don Ato de Foces, who had lately got into Zaragoza; at first they would

[1] Sudda (in Castillian *azuda*) was the name for the Moorish Alcazar or palace at Saragossa. سدّة in Arabic, *Porta domus, vestibulum.*

[2] Thus in the edition of 1557; Tudela?

not let him come in to me to advise, nor have private communication with me, little or much. At last he came and told me that since his stay at Zaragoza with dishonour he was there, and he was not called into Council, perhaps it should not grieve me if he retired and went home. I replied, "Go, for it is "not to our honour nor to yours, that you are here." He therefore departed and went to the country of Huesca. And thereupon I took Don Pedro Ahones apart, and said to him: "Don Pedro Ahones, much "have I loved you, and caused you to be honoured "by Don Artal d'Alagó; and yet you now take part "in this great dishonour that I am now suffering. "I therefore, from this moment, cast myself loose "from your love, and while I live will love you "not." And he said, "For what cause?" "Because," said I to him, "you behold my dishonour and my "hurt; if it were not for you, this dishonour and "hurt could not have befallen me; and because you "could remedy it, and did not." Don Pedro argued with me about that, and said that in what he and the others were doing there was no dishonour nor hurt; and that he cared little for my words.

XXIII.

And after that talk I went to the Queen, and said to her: "Well do I know and see the hurt and dis- "honour that you and I are suffering; and though

"I am still a child, I intend having my revenge, and "you will also, if you will only follow my advice." Then I said to her: "In this house there is a trap- "door leading to a subterraneous passage; I will get "two ropes; I will seat you on a board, and lower "you down; then I will send for En Artal "(d'Alagó),[1] that he may come here with his men "the very night that we are to do this; and when "we know that he has arrived, you will go out [of "the house] by the door below, and Don Artal will "go away with you, and I will remain here at Zara- "goza. I dare not attempt anything for fear of "their hurting you; but as soon as you have gone "away, I will address Don Fernando, or Don "Guillen de Montcada, or Don Pedro Ahones, and "will tell them that they all did treason in what "they did against me. I will then mount a horse, "which I will have in readiness, and this they cannot "prevent, because if any of them attempt to stop "me, I will kill him. I do not believe that they can "overtake me; I will have such a swift horse "that I have no fear of their coming far after me." And she replied: "Know ye that for nothing "in the world will I be lowered down from this "on a board with ropes." And I begged and

[1] "E dixem li be conexem e veem lo dan e la onta que vos y (*sic*) nos prenem, e jatsia que nos siam infant nos ne vengarem siu voleu vos. E dixem li en esta casa ha una trapa e haurem dos cordes, e seurem vos en una taula, e auallar vos hem de aqui enjus, e enviarem la nuyt que aço deurem fer per don Artal Dalago," &c.

entreated her much, but she would not do it. I, therefore, let the thing rest, and did nothing on account of her fears.

XXIV.

And then came En Guillen de Montcada and made Don Fernando beg of me that for the harm that I had done him (Montcada) in Catalonia, I would make amends to him. I replied that what I had done, I had done rightfully, and that I would make him no amends. And they both said that indeed I should; that the amend would be much to him and little to me; that I should give him twenty thousand morabatins;[1] and I persisted that I would not. At last, in the expectation that the aforesaid knights would leave the traitorous ways that they were in, I yielded and promised them the twenty thousand morabatins.[1] And when I had stayed at Zaragoza for a while, I went to Tortosa, and the Queen went to Burbaguena. And Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Nuño began to distribute the fiefs and "honors" of Aragon among

[1] The original gold coin of that name, struck by the Sultans of the Almoravide dynasty, in imitation of the Roman Aureus, seems to be meant. It was about the seventh of an ounce, and would be worth now about 11*s*. This was the "*maravedi de oro*," or *morabetinus aureus*. There was another called "*maravedi de plata*" (argenteus), which by successive expansion of the currency has, like the Portuguese *reis*, become a coin of nominal value.

their friends, pretending that they were bestowing them with my sanction; but the truth is that they divided them as they liked best.

XXV.

After that I left Tortosa without their knowing of it, and came to Orta, which belongs to the order of the Temple; whereupon I summoned the barons and knights holding land in fief from the crown to come to me at Teruel, for that I intended to enter the kingdom of Valencia and make war on the Moors, and that they should do service for the land they held of me, and accordingly named a day for their being there. And, thereon, I made contract for supplies with Don Pasqual Monyos, who had been a great favourite of my father, and one of the best townsmen in the whole country in those days. Monyos told me that he would supply very willingly, and for nothing, as much as he could of his own and of his friends' wealth; and so he supplied for three weeks all that was wanted. And when the day arrived that they, that is, the barons of Aragon, were to come to me, there came only Don Blasco d'Alagó, and Don Artal de Luna, and Don Ato de Foces; and I saw plainly that the rest would not come on the day fixed for the meeting. And in consequence of this their

absence, I had to consume the supplies that had been stored up to invade the country of the Moors. And, therefore, I resolved to make a truce with Seit Abuzeit,[1] who was then King of Valencia, the truce to last three weeks, after which he should give me the fifth of all his revenue from Valencia and Murcia, excepting the "zeka."[2] And Seit bound himself to that in writings, and by deeds and agreements which he signed ; and so the truce was made with him. And when the three weeks aforesaid were passed, I, who had by that time consumed the supplies that should have been employed in the raid, left Teruel, and entered Aragon. And when I got to the second village below Calamocha, I there met Don Pedro Ahones who was coming with fifty or sixty knights, and I asked him whence he came, and where he was going. And he told me that he was going to enter the country of the Moors, he and his brother the Bishop of Saragossa.[3] And I said to him, "Turn back with me, for I wish to speak with you about that." And he begged me not to delay him on his journey, as he wished to go on. And I said to him, "Don Pedro Ahones, I will not

[1] Abu Zeid. Seid, سيد ابو زيد was his real name. See Appendix A. at the end of the volume.

[2] The words of the original are: "after deducting the zaká, or contribution for the poor." Zaka, in Spanish *azaque*, is from the Arabic زكا.

[3] The Bishop of Saragossa at this time was Sancho de Ahones, from 1216 to 1236.

"delay you much if I ask you to ride one short "league with me, for I wish some of the Aragonese "barons to be present when I come to speak my "mind to you." And he said that he was content; and so I went to Burbaguena, to a house belonging to the order of the Temple, which is on the Daroca and Teruel road, at the entrance of the village as one comes from Daroca; and there were with him Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Artal de Alagon, Don Ato de Foces, Don Ladron, Don Assalit de Gudar, Don Pelegrin de Bolas, and himself, with his purpoint[1] on, and his sword girded, and a hood of mail on his head. And I was then entering upon my seventeenth year. And I said to him, "Don Pedro Ahones, I waited for you at Teruel "fully three weeks from the day I had appointed for "you and the others to come, intending, as I pub- "lished in my ban, to make a good raid against the "Moors with you and with the barons of Aragon; "and when I say a good raid I mean this, that I have

[1] "E ell vestit son perpunt e 'sa spassa cinta, e un bauyt de "malles de ferre al cap." *Perpunt* (pourpoint) was a thick quilted vest to wear under the armour; in old French *gambesson*, *gambison*, and *gambosson*. (See Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du vieux Language François*, vol. i. p. 238.) As to *bahuyt*, it is explained as follows in the "Tavla de les paravles dificils" prefixed to the *Chronicle de En Jacme:* "arma- "dura de cap feyta de malle, de la "qual abaxaua malla fins a la cara "e al coll." I doubt, however, from the explanation given if *bauyt* or *bahuyt* be the true reading. Why not *babuyt* (babera)? At any rate it seems equivalent to the Spanish *almofar* from the Arabic, مغفار *cassis*, *galea* of a peculiar form.

"not yet seen Moors in war, and it would have "pleased me much to see them in their own country "and fight with them; but for want of you especially, "and because I was told at the time that with so few "knights as I had at Teruel, I should not enter the "country of the Moors (for if God did not help me "I might there meet with disgrace or death), I "desisted from the undertaking, and thereon Seit "Abuzeit sent word to me that he would willingly "give me the fifths[1] of Valencia and Murcia if I "made a truce with him, and I accepted; wherefore "I pray you, Don Pedro Ahones, and command you, "that you keep that truce, and do not break through "it." And he said to me, that the preparations that he had made for the undertaking had cost much money both to himself and to his brother, the bishop; and that I could not really wish for him and his brother to lose their cost, and be thereby impoverished. And I replied: "Don Pedro "Ahones, very wrongfully speak you to me; the "truce I speak of was entirely made through your "default, and through your not coming to me on "the appointed day. Now you tell me that you

[1] "E sobre aço, feu nos parlar "Zeytabuzeit quens donaria les "quintes de Valencia e de Murcia, "e que aguessem treua ab ell." The word quintes, in Spanish *quintos*, means the fifth part of all the revenue of Valencia and Murcia. Seit Abu Zeit, or Zeytabuzeit, is the name of the king who then ruled over those countries; but it is badly spelt, for سيد ابو زيد are his title and his *kunya* (alcuña). His real name was Abde-r-rahman. See above, p. 49, note 1, and the Appendix at the end of the volume.

"will not give up this expedition as I command "you. See what you are doing; you go against "my sovereignty, and I certainly did not expect "that of you. I therefore wish to know if you "will give up your purpose for our prayers and "commands." And Don Pedro replied that he would do everything for my prayers and commands; but this thing he could not do, for it cost him so much money that he could not give it up; and that he entreated me to let him enter into the Moors' country, he and his brother, the bishop, and that he would do me good service therein. And I said: "Rather bad service would that be, if you "broke the truce that I have granted. I wish "therefore to know if you will obey my orders or "not." And he said to me that he could do nothing else. And therefore I said to him: "Then since "you wish to break what is so dear to me as my "word and promise of this truce, know ye that I "resolve to take you prisoner."

XXVI.

Thereupon no more words were said. Don Pedro stood up; and those who were about me, that is, the above-named knights, left the room, and all went to the top of the house, and took their swords in hand, rolling their cloaks about their

arms, with their quilted coats on, and left me alone with Don Pedro. And Don Pedro was a good knight, and very good at arms, and he put his hand to his sword, but I held the sword and the hand, so that he could not draw it. And Don Pedro's retainers were still outside of the house, and had not dismounted from their horses; and when they heard the noise that was made inside the house, fully thirty or forty of them at once dismounted. Don Pedro, in the meanwhile, hearing his people come up stairs, tried to get his sword out of the scabbard, but I hindered him, and he could not draw it. His men, however, came into the room, and as my own were in their quarters at the time, and could not help me, they had it all their own way; they released Don Pedro, and took him away from me by force, for I had secured him, and he could not help themself.[1] On this occasion those of my men who were with me in the house did not help me in the least, but looked on at my struggle with Don Pedro. And after that Don Pedro's men mounted him on his horse, and sent him away; and they themselves, with his armour,[2] went after him. I then told a knight of Alagon, named Miquel Dagues,[3] who happened to have his horse at the door of the

[1] "Que el no hauìa poder de sì ques partis de nos."

[2] His arms or his armour, for both may be meant: "E sobre "aço caualcaren lo en lo cauall seu, "e meteren lo dauant ells, e apres "avec ses armes anarense ab ell."

[3] Also written "Daguas."

house, to let me have it; he did, and I mounted it. I had then a quilted coat on, and they brought me my arms, and forthwith I went in pursuit of him. But, before all these preparations could be made, Don Ato[1] rode off, followed by four esquires of his on horseback; and shortly after Don Ato, Don Blasco and Don Artal also rode off with their respective followers, all of them in pursuit. Don Ato was the first to overtake Don Pedro at the end of some walls inclosing the vineyards of Burbaguena. And one of Don Pedro's men said to him, "Here comes Don Ato, who is following you." And Don Pedro Ahones said, "Let us turn, and let not the villain strike us in the back."[2] But Don Ato was not a villain, nor basely nurtured, yet those who were with him gave way, and, instead of keeping close to him, made room for Don Pedro's men to attack him; and so they did, for two of them approached Don Ato and wounded him—one struck him below the mouth on the left side, and the other struck him on the shield. Then Don Ato, for fear of another blow that was aimed at him, and lest he should not be able to withstand the full force of it, let himself fall on the right side of his horse, and

[1] Ato, sometimes Atho de Foses or Fosses.

[2] The Spanish translators have rendered this passage by "Vamos, "pues, hácia él; no sea que se nos "escape el villano." The original text has, "E dix don Pere Ahones "tornem a ell, e nous pague detras "lo vilá, ço que ell no era vilá ne "mal ensenyat," which is rather obscure.

threw himself on his shield, for fear of being killed. Meanwhile Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Artal Dalagon came up along the road; and I, passing by Don Ato, asked him how he was, and what had happened. And he said, "I am wounded, and behold those who wounded me, where they go." And there were with me at the time only Don Assalit Daguda[r] and Domingo Lopez de Pomar. And I saw Pedro Ahones, with twenty of his mounted followers, pushing up a hill to my left; he wished, no doubt, to take shelter in a castle of his brother, the bishop, called Cotanda.[1] And Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Artal de Alagon went after him, about a cross bow-shot off. And Don Pedro Ahones got to the top of a hill with his men, and halted there; and Don Exemen Lopez de Rigols dismounted, and told Don Pedro Ahones to mount his horse, as his own was tired, and to think of getting into shelter at once. And while doing that, they threw stones, great and small, at those below, that they might not push up the hill behind them; and Don Pedro Ahones then changed horses as above said. And when he saw that we were in pursuit, he said to Don Assalit and Don Domingo Lopez de Pomar, "I know of a short cut that will enable us to get to them." "Let us go," said I; and I myself went considerably in front of the other

[1] Now Cutanda, which was then, as it is now, within the see of Saragossa.

two, for my horse was faster than theirs. And when I got up the hill, Don Pedro's men began throwing stones at those of Don Artal and Don Blasco's; and they stopped, and did not push up the hill. But I, followed by some of my own men, pushed on, and arrived at the top, and then cried, "Aragon! Aragon!"[1] upon which Don Pedro's men began to abandon him, except one, called Martin Peris Desquita,[2] who came in my suite, following his lord. Meanwhile Sancho Martinez de Luna, elder brother of Martin Lopez, came up, and struck Don Pedro a blow with his spear, and put half a foot of it into his right side, through the opening of the quilted coat just under his arm. And Don Pedro was riding in front of us, no man riding between him and me, so close was I to him. When he felt himself wounded, he stopped, and threw his arms round the neck of his horse; I was then close to him, and saw him slide from his horse, and fall; I dismounted, and put my arms over him. And, pitying him, I said, "Ah, Don Pedro "Ahones, in evil hour were you born; why would "you not believe the advice I gave you?" And he answered not, for he could not say a word to me, but he looked me fully in the face.[3]

[1] The original has: "E al "venir que nos fem cridam Aragó, "Aragó!"

[2] The *Chronicle* has, Marti Peris de Mesquita.

[3] According to Zurita, ii. p. 80, a new confederation, of which Pedro Ahones was the leading spirit, had been formed to control and turn to their own advantage

XXVII.

And on this Don Blasco came there, and said: "Ah! my lord, leave that lion to us, that we may "take revenge for the harm he has done to us." And I said to Don Blasco: "God confound you, "that at this time you should say such things! I "tell you that if you strike Don Pedro Ahones, "you shall have to strike me first. I forbid you "to touch him." I then had him mounted on a beast, with an esquire to support his body; but he died on the road before we got to Burbaguena. I thence went to Daroca;[1] and I carried thither Don Pedro Ahones' body in a coffin, and had it buried in Saint Mary's of Daroca. And when I left, the people of that town (Daroca) insulted my men, namely those who had remained behind, and were to follow me; and they struck one of my esquires, a relation of Don Pelegrin de Bolas, in the mouth[2] with a stone, because of his calling them liars.

Don Pedro Ahones, whilst he lived, had held

the government of Aragon, and the knowledge of this determined the king's vigorous action on this occasion.

[1] "E lleuam don Pere Ahones en un *taut* a Daroca." *Taut*, in Spanish *atahud*, comes from تابوط, tabút, which means a coffin.

[2] "Ab una pedra en les barres," literally on the cross-bars of the vizor.

in pledge both Bolea[1] and Loarre,[2] which my father had pawned to him for a sum of money; and he had held these pledges so long that he must have thought himself fully paid for his loan. I, therefore, went thither, but found on my arrival [at Bolea] that Don Fernando and Don Pedro Cornell had thrown themselves into it, and that they had with them from seventy to eighty knights. I really thought, when I went thither, that I should find no one inside the town to oppose me, and that the inhabitants would be in my favour as good and loyal subjects; but I was mistaken; they had agreed to take the others' side against me, and do me all the harm they could, as if I were not their natural lord. Perceiving, therefore, that the castle was strong, and defended by a numerous garrison of knights and footmen, and that there were provisions inside the town for fully a year,[4] I thought it better to move away, and depart therefrom, and so I did.

XXVIII.

And when I had departed thence, the cities of Aragon rose against me, with Don Fernando

[1] "Tenia en penyora Bolea," &c. *Penyora*, from the Latin *pignus*, in Spanish "enpeño."

[2] Here the Spanish version has: "Tenia don Pedro Ahones empeñados (?) Bolea y *Loarre*," instead of which the original has Sobrarbe, which is decidedly a mistake, for Sobrarbe is the name of a county, not of a town.

and with Don Pedro Cornell and the party of Don Pedro Ahones at their head. And thereon I sent for En Guillen de Moncada to come to me, and he came with all his power. And the cities of Aragon were all against me, save only Calatayud. I went to Almudevar, and stayed there for three weeks; then I removed to Pertusa, and sent for En Ramon Folch de Cardona, who came to my aid at the end of a month, with good sixty knights—he and his brother En Guillen de Cardona. I then sent to the front, against them of Zaragoza, Don Blasco Dalagó [1] and Don Artal de Luna; and there remained with me only Don Ato and Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Ladró. Meanwhile the Bishop of Zaragoza,[2] brother of Don Pedro Ahones, sent his men on a foray; and they came after sunset [3] to Alcovera, which they took and sacked completely. This happened during Lent, yet the good bishop gave his men absolution for the evil they had done, and besides gave them licence to eat meat, to whoever would eat it. After this the people of Zaragoza, whilst Don Blasco and Don Artal were in Alagon, went again to Castelar. But the two above-named knights crossed the Ebro, and attacked the Zaragozans

[1] "E que hi havien que menjar "de ço que trobaren en la vila be "per un any."

[2] Dalagó (de Alagó), Ladró, and other names ending in *ó*, are meant for Alagon, Ladron, &c.

[3] Don Sancho Ahones from 1216, to 1236.

on the hills opposite Castellar, when there were fully three hundred of them killed and taken prisoners. And En Ramon Folch came meanwhile to Pertusa; and I was enabled with his assistance to get hold of the provisions which the people of Zaragoza and of Huesca, and the knights who had come in their aid, had bought at Monzon, fully two thousand cafizes [1] of wheat, Aragonese measure. After that I made a "mangonel," went to Ponsano,[2] and took its castle.

XXIX.

And thence I removed my camp to Cellas,[3] and set up the "mangonel" [4] against that town, and, on the third day that it had battered the castle, an esquire, who was inside, opened a parley, and asked me to appoint a day at which, if he were not succoured, he should surrender the castle. It was the opinion of En Ramon Folch, and of Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Ato, and Don Ladró, and Don Pedro Pomar, that I should give the esquire time, but that it should be short; he asked fifteen days, I gave him eight, and the agreement was made accordingly. Don Ato,

[1] On the meaning of the word *cafiz*, see above, p. 25, *note* 3.

[2] Ponzano in the Upper Aragon.

[3] Cellas and Las Cellas, now called "Las Ciellas" in the province of Huesca.

[4] The *Manganellus*, a war engine.

moreover, said that he would cross the river, and if he perceived any one coming against us, he would at once come and let me know of it. On the eighth day, accordingly, I returned to Pertusa, and held a council there early in the morning. And I ordered the people of the town, in virtue of the dominion I had over them, that early next day they should go to Cellas with their arms, on pain, for him who should not be there, of losing all he had in that district. And I ordered letters in like style to be written to the inhabitants of the towns of Barbegal and Barbastro, summoning them to be all there with us on that day.

And, surely, when I had had my dinner (it happened to be a fast-day), there came by the road from Huesca Don Pelegrin Datrosil [1] and Don Gil; they came by themselves, without followers, but armed with lance and shield, trotting, and even galloping as hard as they could. They pointed them out to me, but I could not recognise them at first, till they got to the Pertusa bridge, whereupon I went to the foss [2] close to St. Mary, and waited for them to hear what their errand was. And they came, and said to me: "God protect you! Behold, here come Don

[1] The original has Atrofil.

[2] "Speram los aqui a la sglesia de Sancta Maria en lo fossar." Fossar, in Spanish "osario," is properly speaking a cemetery.

"Fernando and Don Pedro Corneyl,[1] and they of "Zaragoza and of Huesca with them; they come "to succour Cellas; we left them near Vilella, and "they are coming here as fast as they can." Hearing this, I gave orders to saddle. There were with me at the time only four knights; but I ordered the townsmen [of Pertusa] on pain of treason to come and follow me; similar orders were sent to Barbegal and to Barbastro. I then went to Cellas, and found there En Ramon Folch and En Guillen de Cardona and Don Rodrigo Liçana and my own train, yet in all there were not more than from sixty to seventy knights. I told them to arm and get their horses ready, as Don Fernando was coming, as well as those of Zaragoza and Huesca who followed him; and all, accordingly, set themselves to arm and prepare their horses. And whilst I was giving the above-said orders, En Pere Pomar, who was an old knight, and one of my own train, addressed me in these words: "My lord, I will "give you good advice: here is a hill,[2] very strong, "almost impregnable; take possession of it, and "whilst you are there, the towns will hear of it "and flock round you." And I replied: "Don

[1] Corneyl, Corneil, Cornel. See above, pp. 22, 28, 39, &c.

[2] "Puig," pronounced *puch*, as in Puig Cerdá, Puig d'Ollers, &c., is a hill; in *Latin* "podius." The word translated by "train" in this and other instances is *maynada*, in Spanish "mesnada," equivalent to, and evidently derived from, the French "mesnade."

"Pedro Pomar, I am King of Aragon, and I de-
"fend my right; those who come against me are
"my subjects, and they do wrong in coming to
"fight against me.; I am in my right, they are
"wrong, and God will help me. I will not leave
"the town alive; I will conquer them, and not do
"as you advise this time." I, therefore, waited for them, and took the Castle of Cellas after all, for they never came to its relief.

XXX.

After this I returned to Pertusa; and the Archbishop of Tarragona, by name En Esparech,[1] and a kinsman of mine, when he saw Aragon in such bad state, and my subjects doing against me what they should not do, came to Pertusa, and begged hard of me, for his and for God's sake, that I would make terms with my subjects, and let him treat between them and me. I consented, and the Archbishop, having my word to that effect, opened parley with them. Yet he could not make any arrangement, for they demanded things against my sovereignty; and consequently the parley was broken off. And when the people saw that Cellas[2] had been taken, they

[1] Esparago, or Sparago de Barca or de la Barca.

[2] Las Celles. See above, *note*, p. 60.

of Huesca sent message by Don Martin de Perexolo, who was my merino,[1] and by other friends I had in that town, that if I went to Huesca, they were sure I might do what I pleased there. And so I went, and I would not on the march thither put any of my knights into armour, for fear those of Huesca should take alarm. And before I got there, about twenty of the chief men of the town came out to meet me to Saint Mary de Sales, and I spoke with them, and said that I wondered much at their coming out to meet me, as I never intended doing them harm—on the contrary, nothing but good; and that if my ancestors had done them good, and had loved them, I would certainly love them as much or perhaps more. And when the people of Huesca heard that, they thanked me much for it and bid me welcome into their town, and, moreover, said that they would do for me what faithful vassals should do for their natural lord. And on my making entry into the town, the children and the common people showed great joy at my coming. I entered Huesca at the hour of vespers, and there entered with me Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Massa, and my train, Don Assalit and Don Pelegrin de Bolás, and many others. And they did not invite me [to eat], and when I had

[1] Merino, from "Majorinus," the officer now called in Spain *alcalde mayor*.

eaten I began joking, and told them in jest that it was very plain that I might do what I pleased in the town, since they had received me so well.

XXXI.

And when I and all those who usually slept about me had lain down, there came my porter and said that there were full a hundred armed men before the door [of the house]. I said to him: "Go away! I have just put off my armour, "and you want me to get into it again: those "men you speak of are no doubt the watch of the "town." He said: "My lord, send one of your "own esquires, and I will show him." And I said: "Let me go to sleep; it can be only as God "wills." When morning came, and I rose and had heard mass, I proclaimed a council to be held in the open space[1] between my house and that of Montaragon.[2] And I being on horseback, and they all standing before me, I held a great council; and said to them: "Men, I believe in-"deed that you know, and ought to know, that I "am your lord by birthright, and that of long "standing; that with me there have been no less

[1] *Corral* is, properly speaking, a courtyard, an enclosed piece of ground at the back of a house; Spanish, "patio" and "corral."

[2] The convent of that name, being a league away from Huesca can hardly be meant. Montaragon seems to have been the title of the Town Hall.

"than fourteen kings in Aragon, and the longer "the loyal connection between you and us has "been, the closer should it be now, for in pro- "portion as kindred is extended, and connection "becomes more intimate, loyalty is strengthened. "Hitherto I have done you no harm, nor do I "intend it to you, but rather have at heart to "love and honour you, and to preserve all the "good customs and usages under which you have "hitherto lived, and all the privileges granted to "you by my ancestors. If any more are required, "I will grant you fresh and better ones; but I "marvel much at this, that I should have to guard "against you, and dare not enter your town, and "the others that God has given me, and which I "inherited from my father. It grieves me much, "indeed, that there should be war between me and "you; and I pray and command you that it be "not so, for war is a thing that grieves me most. "This you can very well imagine, when you see "me thus coming alone among you. I trust in "you, and in your love, which I prize above all "things, and wish to keep." And with that my speech ended, and they replied and said that they thanked me much for what I had said, and that the Town Council would assemble and deliberate, and would reply to me. They accordingly went to the house of Montaragon to deliberate, but were a long while about it.

XXXII.

And while I was waiting for the result of their deliberations, there came word to the Town Councillors that En Ramon Folch and the companies, who were outside, were surrounding the town on all sides. The councillors were alarmed, and I sent them word: "Have no fear, "and hear what I will say to you when you come." And I sent for those who were assembled in the Town Council; part of them came, but made no reply to my message. I then said: "Good men,[1] "I marvel much that you take alarm at nothing; "it cannot be that while I am with you any man "dare do anything against you; for every penny "you lose (what cannot happen) I will willingly "forfeit ten to you." And the councillors replied: "You say well; but let the order be given as if "it came from you." And I said: "So it shall "be; from this moment I, the king, forbid any "harm being done to you." And I sent immediately some one to ascertain the cause of the rumour, and found that there was nothing at all; yet with all this the councillors returned no

[1] "E dixim los: Barons marauellam nos molt," &c. The word *barons*, from the Teutonic *bahr*, cannot be translated in this instance by barons in English, since they were townsmen or citizens, and did not belong to the nobility of the land.

answer to my message, but got up from their seats and went away.

And I went into my house, and there went in with me Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Maça and some of my own train, and Don Assalit, and Don Rabaza, my notary; and it was said that the townsmen were actually barring the streets with chains, and closing the gates. I said to Don Rabaza: "Have you any law that is good for me and you at the same time?" and he replied: "My lord, neither law nor right is here of any avail." And I said to him: "Know ye aught else to advise?" He said, "No; but ye may take counsel of these nobles." And I accordingly asked the advice of those present, and they said, "Great treasons are being concocted;" but nothing more would they explain. Thereon I said: "Since no one will give advice, I will ex-
"plain my own as best I can. Let us send to
"the shambles (said I to the notary) to buy sheep;
"that will make them believe that we are pre-
"paring dinner; meanwhile do you all get to
"saddle and go with the rest. When that is done,
"I will send for my horse, my quilted coat (cami-
"sole), for my coat of mail, and for my arms;
"and you be all ready, and wait for me in the
"square."

And the thing was done as I said; there came En Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Maça, and

three more, for we were only five in all. I went down to the gate which goes out to the Isola[1] and the road to Bolea; but, finding the gate shut, inquired who had shut it. A woman there was, who said the Town Councillors had ordered it to be shut. And I said to an esquire of mine: "Where is the porter?" And he said: "He is usually up there." I sent two of my esquires for him, and they brought him down; and he came, all pale, and I asked him, "Who has the key of this gate?" He said: "The Town Councillors have it." I said to him: "Now give it me in-" "stantly, or else I will lay thee dead with a sword-" "cut on thy head." I made the esquires go up with the porter; they soon brought down the key, and the porter also a prisoner. I made him open the gate, and waited till all the knights came in. When they all had come, I went outside; but news came that some esquires of my train and some baggage-mules had been retained inside, upon which I told twenty or thirty men of Huesca, who were with me outside: "You send one man to the "town, and see that all my belongings be allowed "to quit unmolested." Having said as much, I went down to the Isola, crossed it, and found there En Ramon Folch and En Guillen de Cardona, with all the other knights, and with their

[1] Isuela.

train, besides Don Ato, all of whom were lamenting my loss, for they thought that we had all been kept prisoners. Those of Huesca, in the meantime considering me in their power, had sent word to Don Fernando and to those of Zaragoza to come.

XXXIII.

After that I went to Pertusa. And being there, Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Moncada and Don Pedro Corneyl came to Huesca, and they had among themselves some talk of coming to terms with me. They would admit that they had acted wrong, and would send me, as they did, a messenger acknowledging their error. This pleased me and my Council much, and the message was very acceptable to all of us. I then asked the messenger: "What sort of agreement is it that you propose?" He replied that they would go out to the mountains above Alcalá, and that I and my company might go thither also; that I should go out with seven of my Council, and that they should come with six or seven of their chief townsmen, and that the rest of the company should be left behind. The messenger said also that they would gladly come to me to Pertusa, only they were afraid that some bad man might pick a quarrel with them; and that they wished to speak with me as vassals

ought to speak with their natural lord, and that before they separated from me they would so act that I should be content. And as it was said, it was done. We went out to meet them, with coats of mail on and swords girt. There went with me En Ramon Folch, En Guillen de Cardona, Don Ato de Foces, Don Rodrigo Lizana, Don Ladró, the son of the other Don Ladró (En Pere), a knight of noble and great lineage, Don Assalit de Gudá, and one knight more besides Don Pelegrin de Bolas. On their side there came Don Fernando, my uncle, En Guillen de Moncada, father of Don Gastó, Don Pedro Corneyl, Fernando Perez de Pina, and others of their party, whose names I do not remember. Don Fernando was the first to speak, and began thus: "My lord, we have "come here before you; we grieve much for "the war that has been between us and you, "and we fully intend to put an end to it; we "pray you to pardon us, for it is our wish to "serve you, I and En Guillen de Moncada, and "Don Pedro Corneyl, and as many as belong to "our party; for though we have suffered harm by "you, we acknowledge having done you harm, for "which we are very sorry. Had we to make "amends for the harm we have done, we could in "nowise make the compensation required, for cer- "tainly the harm done has been very great, and no "reparation can be made for our faults; wherefore

"we implore your forgiveness, and your mercy, "and humbly beseech you to take good care of us, "and treat us well; towards me, in particular you "are bound to do so on account of the relationship "that I have with you, and towards Don Guillen "de Moncada, for no king in the whole of Spain "had ever so good a vassal as you have in him, "or who can do so good service." And with that he ended. And then spoke Don Guillen de Moncada, and said: "My lord, the obligation in "which I stand to your royal person, no one knows "it better than you do, for the Counts of Barcelona "from whom you descend, gave my ancestors large "domains and lands, whereof I, by the grace of "God, have more than others of my race, for I "possess the domain of Bearne in Gascony, which "no other [of my ancestors] had. All that I have, "and can have, I will put at your service. God, "Who knows all things, knows that what I did was "intended for your advantage, and your honour; but "since my doing does not please you, it does not "please me either. I am not ashamed to say that "I was mistaken, and did wrong to you; be merciful "and forgive me and those who were with me in "this business, for you may be sure that never more "will I war with you, holding it as certain that you "will not willingly do wrong to me, nor to my "friends, nor to my relations; and if you should, "I am sure, by supplications, and with love, to

"overcome any bad feeling you may entertain towards "me and mine, and to conquer your affection through "the good service I intend to render you in future, "and which I hope will avail me with you." And so their speech ended. And thereon I told him and them that I would consider the matter, and return an answer. So I left them, and they went away. The barons who were with me said that well and nobly had they (Don Fernando and Don Guillen) spoken, and that they had shown great submission. And upon that I made them come back, and said: "What you have stated with such "humility, and with such submission to me, I am "content with; I take your good will as amends for "the past, and am willing to keep you in my love "and grace." And thereupon the knights on each side who were at a distance came on and inspected the settlement and agreement that had been made, at which all were joyful and content. And after that I went to Lérida.

XXXIV.

More than a year and a half after this, being at Lérida, there came the Countess of Urgel, daughter of Count Ermengol,[1] and of the Countess of Subirats, who had been wife of En Alvar Perez (they were

[1] Armengol.

now separated on account of consanguinity to each other, and she had no child by him); her name was Na Arambiays.[1] I received her well, and when she had been two days at Lérida, went to see her. En Guillen de Cervera,[2] Lord of Juneda, was with her as counsel, and certainly she did more through him than through any one else in the world; he advised her in her difficulties, because he had had her mother to wife, and also because he was an old man, and one of the wisest in all Spain; all that the Countess proposed to me, and to others, she did by his (Servera's) advice; and he did in her business, and in everything, whatever she needed done. And she said to En Guillen de Cervera, to propose the business for her. And En Guillen de Cervera said, "Lady, "propose it yourself, for you know how to propose "and state your own business better than I." So they made her propose it: and she said to me: "that she had come to ask a favour of me, in "as much as she knew, and so people said, that "she would find justice and grace in me; she had "come to Lérida because she suffered great "wrong; all the land knew that she was the "daughter of the Count of Urgel, En Ermengol, "and that the county belonged to her rather than "to any other, because of her being the Count's

[1] Aurembiaix. *Na* is the feminine for *En*.

[2] Sometimes written Servera.

"daughter, and of there being no son nor daughter "but she; and that she called on me for love and "grace to do justice to her, since from no man in "the world could she get the same, save from me." And En Guillen de Cervera and En Ramon de Peralta took up her case, and promised to help her. En Ramon de Peralta, however, had refused to surrender Montmagastre till the Countess herself came; when she came he gave it up, and likewise the dues the Count had in the place, though he kept four castles for himself. The two [knights] came to me, and Cervera said, "My lord, "it is a king's office and duty, that those who cannot "have right by any other means should apply to "him, and obtain justice at his hands. God has put "you in His place to do right; this lady who has "come before you is of great lineage by father and "mother, as you know. She has been disinherited "of her father's estates within your own dominions, "and she comes to you for grace, that you cause "to be returned to her the property which her "father left her; she is so good in herself, that her "virtues alone might prevail with you; help and "assist her, as we beg and entreat you, and as she "herself can and will do better than we." After Servera, En Ramon de Peralta said words to the same effect. I said to them: "Your prayers are just; "I will consult on the matter, and do what ought "to be done." I then took council of the bishop

whose name was En Bng (Berenguer) Daril,[1] of En Guillen de Moncada, of En Ramon Folch, of En Guillen Ramon, brother of En Ramon de Moncada and father of En Pedro, of Don Assalit, of Don Garcia Perez de Meytats,[2] and of the principal inhabitants[3] of the city of Lérida. And they asked me to appoint En Guillen de Çasala to defend the Countess' suit, and so I did, and the Countess granted him for life the dues known as "Caldera de Lérida."[4] which at that time were not worth more than two hundred sols a year, and have since risen to three thousand.

XXXV.

En Guillen de Çasala having been appointed for the defence, and having pleaded the Countess' case before the above-mentioned bishop and barons, they decided that the Count of Urgel, En Guerau de Cabrera,[5] should be summoned to appear at Court,

[1] Berengar, or Berenguer de Erill. He was bishop of Lérida from the 22nd of December, 1205, to the 7th of October, 1235.

[2] Meitats.

[3] Prohomens.

[4] A tax paid by the dyers of Lérida on each vat or pan they used. *Caldera* in Spanish means a "caldron." By "derecho de Caldera," or cauldron's dues, a tax is meant which the dyers of Barcelona and other towns of Catalonia used to pay on each vat or copper pan used. It is reported that in 1270 the amount of tax thus collected in the city of Lérida amounted to 15,000 sols.

[5] En Guerau, son of Ponce, or Pontio, Viscount of Ager and Cabrera, had already, upon the death of Armengol, Count of Urgel, in 1208, laid claim to his estate, owing to his having left no male issue. The Count's widow, Doña Elvira, contrived during her life to maintain her right, but at her death, in 1220, or there-

and do right to the Countess, and that all the three [customary] summons should be made as was proper. The Count did not come on the first summons that was made. And, therefore, before giving sentence against him or proceeding by form of law, I addressed myself to the Countess and said, "I "cannot sentence this case unless the formalities "of law are complied with; you and your advisers "must wait." En Guerau was then summoned a second time, and on the day fixed, not before, En Guillen de Cardona,[1] brother of En Ramon Folch, at that time Master of the Temple, appeared as proxy and representative for En Guerau, and alleged before those sitting in Court, that "En "Guerau, Count of Urgel, marvelled much, as did "all those who had heard of the summons, that what "he (En Guerau) had held for twenty or thirty "years without opposition of any sort, the pretended "Countess being alive, and yet making no claim on "him, should now be put in question and disputed. "He was not bound to answer such a preposterous "demand, and he begged me desist therefrom; for "the Count, my brother (he said), is not a man "upon whom such an unfounded claim, and so dis-"courteous a demand should be made." Then En

abouts, En Guerau invaded the county of Urgel, and took possession of it on the plea that the last count having left no male heirs, the succession belonged to him.

[1] Instead of Guillen de Cardona, as printed, the Chronicle

Guillen Çasala spoke as follows for the Countess: "My lord, En Guerau de Cardona, who certainly "is a man of dignity and honour, of illustrious "descent and much respected, shows wonder at "this our demand! A much greater wonder it is "in my opinion that he should refuse to do right to "so good a lady as the Countess is, and that whilst "he himself is suing for justice in this your court, "he should say that he is not prepared to do it to "others. This is enough to prove that he acts and "speaks by proxy against all reason; and God, my "lord, put you in His place that to those who "have not met with right or justice, you should "administer it; and the Countess prays you to "give her her right." And then En Guillen de Moncada said, "Have you brought powers from the "Count?" "No, I have not," answered Cardona. "I came not here to plead, nor for aught else, but "to say what was given me in charge, and therefore "will now go away." En Ramon de Moncada said, "Wait then till the King has deliberated, and he "will reply to what you have said." They accordingly left, and the Council met to deliberate. It was decided that I should tell Cardona, when he should come back into the room: "En Guillen de

reads En Ramon; but it is evidently a misprint, for everywhere, in the following chapters, the nobleman who appeared at the court of James, as his proxy, is called *En Guillen*. Flotats and Bofarull, the translators of James' Chronicle, fell into the same mistake. (Page 57.)

"Cardona, you have brought here no power of "attorney from En Guerau; further, you refuse to "answer the claim and demand made in form of law; "I wish to know whether you will or will not make "answer to the demand that En Guillen Çasala "makes of you." Cardona answered and said, that he would give no further answer. And I said to him: "Then I will do my duty; I will summon [the "Count] once more, and that will be the third "summons, and if he will do right, I will accept it; "if not, I will proceed as law requires." Thereon he went away: and the third and last summons was made, after which En Guerau de Cardona came on the day fixed.

XXXVI.

At the time that Guillen de Cardona, in obedience to the summons, appeared again, I was with all my court, and many nobles (*ricoshomes*), in the house of En Ramon Raboster, and all the Court and the barons heard what was said. En Guillen Sasala[1] was also there, who rose and said, "My Lord, I "pray you and those present to listen to me; "God willed that in this world there should be "kings, and He gave them this duty to perform, to "do justice to those who needed it, and especially

[1] The name of this lawyer, for such he was, is sometimes written Çasala, at others *Sazala*, and even *Savala*.

"to widows and orphans; and inasmuch as the "Countess has no one to resort to but you, she "has come to your court for two reasons; one "because the claim she makes is in your land; "the other because you can give her counsel and "advice in the matter, and no one else in the world "can. Therefore, the Countess beseeches you for "grace, and as a subject would his good lord, that "you should compel En Guerau, or En Guillen de "Cardona, to answer the demand that has been "made, because this is the third summons, and "owing to En Guerau's default the proceedings "are stayed and nothing is being done. Now "this is the last day; wherefore the Countess "prays you as her lord, of whom she expects "justice, that she may get it from you in this wise; "that if En Guillen de Cardona has not come duly "prepared to meet the claim, you do at once pro- "ceed against En Guerau and his property, so that "the Countess may have rightful satisfaction of "the claim she makes against him." En Guillen de Cardona then said: "Listen to me, En Guillen "[Sasala]. Do you suppose for a moment that "through your specious pleading, which you learned "at Bologna, the Count will lose his countship?" And En Guillen Sasala said: "I only ask right "for the Countess; and if our claim be a just one, "we have confidence in my lord the king that he "will give it us. I will not leave defending my

"lady's right for you and your threats." And En Guillen de Cervera said: "Have you something "more to say." And En Guillen de Cardona took no notice, and said: "My lord, give me a safe "conduct, and I will go." "What else do you "intend to do?" said I. He replied, "Nothing." And En Guillen de Cervera observed: "I am "very much afraid, En Guillen de Cardona, that "your intentions are different." And Cardona replied: "We shall see! it will be as God pleases." And he bade us adieu, and went away.

XXXVII.

And meantime letters were despatched to Tamarit, for the townsmen to be on a certain day with their arms and with supplies for three days at Albelda, as I would certainly be there with my own train: and I said to En Guillen de Moncada, and to En Ramon, and to En Guillen de Cervera, to come to me with all their followers, as I wanted to go against En Guerau. While the letters were on their way, Don Pedro Corneyl came to me, and I, finding that there were already thirteen knights in the camp, went to Albelda. On my arrival there I did not find there those of Tamarit nor the others, but only En Bertran de Calassans and En Ramon de Calassans with sixty or seventy footmen. It vexed me much to find that those of Tamarit were not there; for

they of Albelda held the town, and were prepared to defend it with shields and crossbows and other arms. And I said to those who were by me, "So "it appears that they hold the town against us? "Do they? We shall see." I dismounted, left the horses in charge of the esquires, took my arms, assailed, fought with them, and took the town. Shortly after some of the Tamarit people made their appearance, and at sunset a capitulation was signed. The people in the castle also sent a messenger to say that if I promised not to hurt them they would give it up, and it should remain in my subjection. And when the morning dawned, they surrendered the castle to me.

XXXVIII.

After this I moved thence, and said to my men: "Let us go to Menargues, for before they know of "our coming I will have secured much of their "country." Some knights of my train had come to me, so that I had fully thirty knights; and I went with them to Menargues. I said to those who were with me, "You wait here, whilst I send forward three or four knights." En Rocafort went accordingly on with three other knights, whose names I do not remember at present. The men had all gone up to the castle with their arms and with all the supplies they could get in

the town. I went to the gate of the castle, and said: "Men, you know well that the Countess "is your liege lady, and she does not desire your "destruction, nor that you die here, nor lose any- "thing that is yours; go down to your houses, and "I will assure you, in my royal name and in hers, "that no harm will be done unto you, but that you "will be defended against all men." One of them then said: "My lord, what are we to do with the "castle that En Pons de Cabrera [the Count of "Urgel] gave us in charge?" I answered: "You "know well that our sovereignty prevails over that "of any one else. I will be warrant that you shall "not do anything against your duty; go down in "peace, and I take your trust upon myself." "Since the King says it, so will we do," said one of them. Before, however, they opened the gate they again said to me, "And you really say that "we may go down, on your word?" "Yes," said I. And they actually came down with their arms and their goods; and I sent for the knights to come forthwith. When the people saw how few knights I had with me, they were greatly discomforted. Though we had no meat in our camp, I would not take any from them; and sent about twenty horsemen to make a foray in the environs of Balaguer; they brought us as many as sixteen cows and calves; we bought bread and wine, and thus prepared food for three days.

XXXIX.

And presently companies from Catalonia and Aragon came to me, so that we were in all two hundred knights, and had besides up to a thousand footmen. I went against Linesola (Liñola), and arrived there after the third day. And while I was before Linesola, the day after our arrival there came R. de Moncada, upon which all the army got ready to fight; and they (the enemy) entered the town and took possession of it. And En R. de Cardona came to me and said: "I would counsel you, my "lord, not to fight; there are good soldiers there "inside the town, and its capture would not really be "worth the harm that you and yours might receive. "Let me parley with them, and see if I cannot get "good terms for you?" But I would not listen to him, and went up to the town and fought with those inside, and on foot, as I was, with my own men I took the town. Upon which the besieged barricaded themselves in the fortress, where there was a very good tower and several outworks;[1] but the same day they surrendered to me, and the day after I established my camp there.

[1] "Els homens embarrarense en la força hon hauia una torra molt bona e albacar."

XL.

Thence I went to Balaguer to besiege it; I crossed the river at a place called Almata, and there ordered two "fonevols" to be made. Then came En Guillen de Moncada, En Guillen de Cervera, and some other barons of Aragon, and we were in all up to three hundred knights. And when we had been eight days at that place, a messenger came from Menargues and besides him[1] from En Pere Palau, two of the chief people in the town, saying that, if I wished to finish the work at Balaguer I should send for the Countess, who was then at Lerida, as she should summon them on their allegiance to her, having been once her father's subjects, and she was their lady, to surrender the town to her. And as I saw that these words were important and had a hidden meaning, and that they could not, for fear,

[1] The Valencian edition of 1557 omits from this point to "we have heard your words and will deliberate on them," in c. 42. Evidently the copyist who prepared the book for the press turned over two or more pages of the MS. instead of one, the result being in the printed copy as follows, in two consecutive lines:—

Que havien ab ella, car eren stats de son pare, que li retessen la vila car lur dona. Acorde farem ço que far deurem, e no res als. E respos un cavaller de part de la.

It is strange that such nonsense can have passed under the eye of a *reader* or editor without being observed, and the omission detected and remedied.

I need scarcely add that the omission has been supplied, by the help of a Spanish friend, from one of the two copies of this Chronicle preserved at Barcelona.

send me such an answer as they wished, I sent them a message, thanking them much, and assuring them that I would repay the love they showed me, in such wise that it should profit them and their houses. And thereon, after a few days, the messenger returned to me; he was a young scholar, whom I did not hold in much account, and he repeated to me the very same words formerly uttered on their behalf. And I said to myself, "Of two things one: either they do this of themselves, or by the advice of others; it is so important a thing that if there be a party against "them [in the town] they may yet not be strong "enough to carry their point." I then asked the messenger: "When do your people wish the "Countess to come to the camp?" And the messenger said: "I will send to them, and ask." He sent, and a day was fixed for her coming, and on that day the Countess came. At the end of four or five days the people of Balaguer sent to me again, to ask that I should bid a number of men with shields and in armour go before the Countess for protection and approach the wall, so that those on it might hear her speak, and that with the will of God they would comply with her demand, and do what they had said to me. Thereon I did as I had arranged with them. And so the Count [of Urgel] heard that there was some parley between us and those in the town.

XLI.

En Ramon de Moncada had guard by day and night of the fonevols [war-engines], and one day between nones and vespers he was on watch, and with him were En Sancho Perez de Pomar, son of En Pere de Pomar, En Bardoyl, who was his bailli or governor at Castelsera, and A. de Robio, a knight. When the men of Balaguer saw how few they were, they and En Guillen de Cardona, who was also in the town, came in armour, on horseback, through an opening they had made in the wall, and into the ditch, unobserved, with dry faggots soaked in grease. I happened to be at the time in the tent of En Guillen de Cervera, whom I had gone to visit; I was talking with him, when there was a cry: "To "arms, to arms! They are coming to set fire to the "fonevols, and are bringing burning faggots for that "purpose." And En G. de Cardona had with him as many as twenty-five knights in armour, besides two hundred footmen, including those who carried the faggots. And there came out with him Sire Guilleumes, the bastard son of the King of Navarre by a certain woman, and others. And Don Sancho Perez de Pomar had not courage to stand the attack; and he ran away towards the camp; so that there remained with En Ramon de Moncada only A. de Robio and En Guillen Bardoyl. En Guillen de

Cardona came lance in hand against En Ramon de Moncada, and said to him: "Surrender, En Ramon, "surrender." And En Ramon said: "To whom am "I to surrender, foul minion—to whom am I to "surrender?" Meantime Cardona's men approached the palisade and set fire to it, but could not get to the "fonevol," for I came up with the men and prevented it. On this occasion Blasco Destada, a young knight, made trial of his arms; and went up with the rest, helm on head and lance in hand, and fought with the people of Balaguer; and followed by Joan Martinez Dezleva on foot, with shield on arm and sword in hand, both attacked the Balaguerians as they were re-entering [the town], overtook them in the moat of the castle, and wounded one of the horsemen who had attempted to burn the fonevol.[1] Blasco de Estada himself went a stone's throw into the moat, wounded there a knight with his lance, and got away without receiving a blow from any one of them, nor from stones which they threw from the top of the wall.

[1] The original here is rather confused: "E Joan Martineç Desleva exi a peus escut abraçat e lespan en la ma, e al entrar que els faeren consegui aquel de caual de laigns (lains?), e esgarra un caual al tornar que ells sen fayen can volgueren cremar lo fonevol." The Spanish translators seem to have been as unable as the present writer to give a clear translation of this passage.

XLII.

On the third day the Countess came, and in presence of En Guillen de Cervera I told her of the parley with those in the town. She said that she would do whatever I might bid her, and would willingly repeat the words I wanted her to say; she only asked to be protected from the arrows of the Balaguerians. I said to her: "That you shall." Accordingly I caused upwards of fifty knights, with their coats of mail and shields, to go with the Countess and protect her: and she riding up, dismounted and approached the wall within a stone's throw, and one of the knights spoke for her. "Are "you there, people of Balaguer?" As nobody answered the first time, she herself said to them, "The Countess is here; are the chief men of the "town there?" Some one said: "Yes, they are; "what do you want of them; and what is your "errand?" Then one of the knights said: "The "Countess prays you to listen to her for a little "while: she is a woman, and cannot speak loud." Then the Countess said: "Good men, you know "well that you were my father's men, his born "lieges; and as you were his you are my liege "men, for I am his daughter; wherefore I pray "and command you, by the sovereignty I have "over you, that you surrender Balaguer to me,

"your liege lady." And they replied: "We have "heard your words, and will deliberate on them,[1] "and do our duty, and nothing else." Then another knight replied on behalf of the Countess and said: "Good men, the Countess thanks you "much for saying you will do your duty, and hopes "that of you." Thereon the Countess returned to the camp. And at vespers the student who had been carrying on messages between me and the town came and said that my plans had met with complete success. The Balaguerians sent word that if I and the Countess agreed to the terms they proposed, the town would be ours immediately. She would with my consent appoint a baron to hold Balaguer for En Pons[2] and for the Countess conjointly until such a time as the dispute was settled. They did not dare to stir because there was a great power in the castle, and they could not complete the business, but if they only could get the Count's forces out of the town on any pretext, they would manage that both town and castle should be surrendered to the Countess.

[1] To this point, from "your liege lady," is omitted in the edition of 1557.

[2] The Count of Urgel, who held the castle, or a son of his? The Count's name was En Guerau, and he was the son of Ponce or Pons.

XLIII.

And one morning, whilst the chiefmen of the town were talking together on a terrace, En Guerau [1] made a cross-bowman of his bend his bow and shoot an arrow into their assemblage, but he hit no one. "And so," said they, "he shoots arrows at us, while "we are defending the place and doing what we "ought not to do, for his sake." They sent to him two chiefmen to say they wondered much at him that he shot at them while they were in danger of death from the king, who had come against them and was laying waste their country; if he did so, they must protect themselves and take another course. When this message was received En Guerau (the Count of Urgel) and En Guillen de Cardona and their Council saw that the Balaguerians wished to submit to the Countess, and as they knew nothing of what had been planned in the town, they sent to me and offered terms. They would surrender the castle to En Ramon Berenguer Dager, and the question between the Count and Countess should be judged by my authority. And they of the town sent word agreeing to that; for I would (they said) get everything I wanted the moment the Count left the place. I spoke to En Guillen de Moncada about this, and said to him that I was willing to subscribe to those terms; that is,

[1] Here the edition of Barcelona has *En Pons*.

that the castle should be surrendered to En Ramon Berenguer Dager,[1] for him to hold it in fealty and trust, and that whichever of the two, En Guerau or the Countess, won the suit, should have it. En Guillen de Moncada replied: "I do not hold that "advice to be good; you should not do that. Since "you have come as far, you should carry out your "first intention, and not leave this till the castle is "yours." I had not yet disclosed to En Guillen what they in the town had communicated to me; so I said to him: "En Guillen, skill in most cases is better "than strength. Now that you have spoken what "you thought it your duty to speak, I will tell you "the secret reason I have for wishing to do what I "tell you. The chiefmen in the town have treated "with me; they have sent me messages that they "are quite willing to surrender both the town and "the castle. The Countess came here because of "that; and so I tell you that if the castle comes "into the power of En Ramon Berenguer Dager, as "soon as En Guerau is out of it, you may consider "both castle and town as mine; and need not pay "attention to the conditions under which he (Beren-"guer) may receive it, for, as I say, he will lose "possession of it at once." And En Guillen said: "You tell me that?" "Yes," said I; "and you "will see immediately that it will be as I say."

[1] De Ager, or from Ager, a town of Catalonia, in the bishopric of Urgel.

XLIV.

Meantime I sent word to En Guerau de Cabrera and to the townsmen, that I agreed to the condition that En Ramon Berenguer Dager should hold the town and castle in trust, for whomsoever had better right to it. Hearing this, En Guerau, who had not the wisdom of Solomon, and who was afraid of the townsmen, took a very good and fine falcon he had, placed it on his hand, crossed the bridge, and sent a message to me by En Berenguer de Finestres, saying that he was prepared to give up the castle to En Ramon Berenguer. The townsmen also sent word, that if I sent my standard, they would have it hoisted on the top of the castle. And thereupon I sent a knight and five esquires with the Royal standard, which they were told to keep concealed, and also with a lance on which to fix the said standard when they would get into the castle. Meanwhile En Berenguer de Finestres talked to me, and begged that I should send En Ramon Berenguer Dager forthwith to receive homage, and take the castle in trust, as everything was ready for that. Having already done that, and sent my standard to the castle, I kept Finestres in parley for some time; he pressed me to despatch him, as the Count (he said) wished to leave; but I did not grant his request, and kept all time watching

for the sight of my standard on the castle. When I saw it I said to him : "En Berenguer de Finestres, "you can go now; for I see that Balaguer is already "mine." "How, yours?" said he. I said to him, "Look yonder, and you will see my standard "waving on the battlements." He (Finestres) was astonished, and experienced great shame and confusion thereat; he went away forthwith without saying another word, whilst the Count himself went to Montmagastre.

XLV.

The Count's friends, however, resolved to send [messengers] to Agramunt, and see what they could do there. He himself went thither; En Guillen de Cardona, and some fifteen knights accompanied him. When the people of Agramunt heard that there had been negotiations between Balaguer and me, they made an agreement with En Ramon Jafa de Agramunt and others of the town to this effect, that should the Countess present herself at Agramunt they would surrender it to her. That had been agreed on before Balaguer was taken. And so En Ramon de Moncada held a parley with En Berenguer de Perexens,[1] the result of which was that he said to me, and to the Countess, and

[1] Agramunt and Perexens are also written *Agremunt* and *Peraxens* in this chapter.

to En Guillen de Moncada, and to En Guillen de Cervera, and to my Council, that immediately after the taking of Balaguer, I should go to Agramunt, for En Berenguer de Perexens had come to him, and settled that they would surrender. So, after handing over the castle of Balaguer to the Countess, I went with her to Agramunt, and encamped on the side of the Dalmenare[1] hills, in sight of the town. When En Guillen de Cardona saw that he left the town, at dusk, and marched all night; and when in the morning I heard that he had left, and that the camp was raised, Agramunt was entered by my men, and the Countess was put in possession of its castle.

XLVI.

And the people of Pons having sent me a message for the Countess to go also thither, I determined she should go. I myself would not accompany her because I had not defied En Ramon Folch, who held the castle; I had not defied him, nor had he defied me, and we were friends.[2] The Countess, however, went, accompanied by En Guillen

[1] Dalmenare is for *a'Almenara*, the name of a village in Catalonia. *Menára*, منارة in Arabic, is a watch-tower, on the top of which a fire is made.

[2] At this time, if a feudal lord wished to proceed by way of arms against any of his liege men he was bound to defy him, *i.e.* to declare the friendship existing between them as dissolved and broken.

and En Ramon de Moncada and the whole of my force, save five knights who stayed behind with me, as I would not go for the above-mentioned reason. The Countess found the town deserted, but the warder of the castle came out with all his men on horseback and ready. They who were with the Countess set spurs to their horses and charged, and drove them at the point of the lance under the castle. And as I was told afterwards, En Bn. Dezlor, brother of the Sacristan of Barcelona, was he who most distinguished himself on the occasion. The same day, at vespers, En Guillen and En Ramon de Moncada sent me word, that I ought without fail to go there; if I did, they said, the Countess would get possession of the castle; otherwise, she would not. And I said: "How can "I go there when I have not defied En Ramon "Folch, and he is holding the castle?" They said: "Know, that if you do not go the Countess will not have the castle." I said: "What am I to do when I am there?" And they said: "If you "summon them to surrender the castle to the "Countess, they certainly will." "Very well," said I, "I will do that, saving the right of En Ramon Folch, if right he have." And thereon I went there: but I ordered those who accompanied me up to the castle to leave horses and arms behind. The morning that I got there some twenty of the townsmen and the Castellan himself came down;

and I asked them, "Why have you sent for me?" They said: "To ask your advice as to what we shall do with the castle." I said: "My advice is "that you surrender it at once. I and the Countess "promise you, and the castellan also, that En Remon "Folch's rights in the castle shall be reserved; and "you shall give assurance that since she obtains the "rest of the county by judgment of our Court, and "by law and justice,[1] these other possessions in your "hands shall go to her, and that you will surrender "her castle." And straightway they surrendered it. After this the Countess's people sent to Oliana, and when the inhabitants heard that the castle of Pons had surrendered, they also surrendered to the Countess. And they did not ask from me anything in return, for it was by her right that she obtained it.[2]

[1] "E no volien res demanar en "Iloch de nos pel dret que ela hi "avia." This statement assumes what is not said elsewhere, that King James's Court had decided in favour of the Countess.

[2] Zurita, Anales II., c. 57, c. 77, c. 86, enables us to add to the king's own account the following particulars. Guerau, Viscount of Cabrera, had been in possession of Urgel from the beginning of James's reign, but always with reserve of the question of the claim of Aurembiax, daughter of Armengol, the last count. In 1228, when Guerau had been twenty years in possession, the king recognised the lady's claims as entitled to a hearing; but after she had undertaken to give up to him the important town and fortress of Lerida, and to acknowledge him as her suzerain, and bound herself to admit him, in peace and war, into nine of her castles, if she ever found the rightful heiress. Then followed the operations described by the king in his chronicle. At their close Don Guerau became a Knight Templar; his son Pons was made, after all, count of Urgel, Aurembiax dying without children.

XLVII.

Half a year afterwards I went to Tarragona. And it was the Lord's will that, without my having summoned Cortes, the greater part of the nobles of Catalonia went thither with me, notably Don Nuño Sanchez, son of the Count Don Sancho, who was a son of the Count of Barcelona; En G. de Moncada, the Count of Ampurias; En R. de Moncada, En Guerau de Cerveyló, En Ramon Alamany, En Guerau de Clermunt, and En Bernart de Sancta Engenia, Lord of Torroella. En Pere Martel, a citizen of Barcelona, who had great knowledge of the sea, invited me to dinner one day, and all the barons who were with me. Towards the end of dinner a conversation began among them. And I asked: "What kind of "country is Mallorca, and what is the extent of "that kingdom?" They asked En Pere Martel, because he was a shipmaster; and En Pere Martel said that he would give an account of it, as he had been there once or twice. He supposed the island of Mallorca to be about three hundred miles round. Minorca was on the side of Sardinia, facing the north-east (*a la part de Grech*); and Iviça was towards Morocco. Mallorca ruled over the

other neighbouring islands, and they did what the Lord of Mallorca commanded. There was another island inhabited by Saracens, named Formentera, near Iviça, from which it was separated by a strait a mile wide. When dinner was over, they came before me, and said: "My lord, we "have asked En Pere Martel about Mallorca, and "he has told us what we think will please you. "It is a good-sized island, in the midst of other "smaller islands, called Minorca, Iviça, and For- "mentera, all of which are subject to the King of "Mallorca. What is God's will, no one can take "away or change; and, so please you, we hold "it right that you conquer that island for two "reasons: the first, that you and we will thereby "increase in power; the other, that those who "hear of the conquest will think it a marvel that "you can take land and a kingdom in the sea "where God pleased to put it." This speech of theirs pleased me much. I answered: "I am much "indebted to you for the thought that you have "given me: what I can do in that matter shall "not be wanting." There, at once, it was settled in Council that general Cortes[1] should be held at Barcelona, at which the Archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops, abbots, and the nobles of Aragon, as

[1] The term general Cortes was usually applied to Cortes of all the realms of the king: these appear to have been of Catalonia only.

well as the citizens of Catalonia,[1] should appear on a certain day.

XLVIII.

And on the day fixed for the meeting of the Cortes, the archbishop [of Tarragona], the bishops, and the nobles came to Barcelona; and the day after they all met in the palace built by the Count of Barcelona. And when all were before me, I began my discourse in this manner: "*Illumina* "*cor meum, Domine* [*et verba mea de*] *Spiritu* "*Sancto.* Wherefore I beseech my Lord God and "the Virgin Saint Mary, His mother, that I may "speak words to my honour, and to the honour "of you who listen, and that they be pleasing to "God and to His mother our Lady Saint Mary; "for I would speak of good works, for good works "come and are of Him; and the words I intend "saying to you shall be of good works. May it "please Him that I can bring the said words "to performance.

"Certain is it that my birth was through "God's interposition, for my father and mother "did not love one another, and so it was by "the will of God that I was born into this "world; and if I were to tell you the circum-

[1] "Ciutadans de Catalunya," or deputies from the towns of Catalonia.

"stances and marvels that attended my birth, "great would be your astonishment; *but I will "omit them, because of their having been narrated "at the very beginning of this book.*[1] Nor do you "ignore that I am your liege lord, and am alone, "without brother or sister, for my father had no "child but me by my mother; and I came to "you a child of six and a half years old, and "found Aragon and Catalonia in confusion, man "fighting against man, and not agreeing on any "thing; that which some would have done, others "would not; and you were in ill-repute in the "world for the things that had passed. And "that evil I could not remedy but in two ways; "by the will of God that directed me in my work, "and makes me undertake such things for you and "for me as were pleasing to Him, so great and "good as to take away the ill-repute that is on "you; for the light of good works dispels dark-"ness. Wherefore I pray you very earnestly for "two reasons, the first for God's sake, the second "for your allegiance to me, that you give me "counsel and aid in three things: the first, how "am I to put my land at peace? the second, how "may I serve the Lord in this expedition that I "mean to make against the kingdom of Mallorca

[1] "Car al començament de "aquest libre hauem parlat." The sentence in *italics* stands in the original as part of the king's speech! This strange confusion argues in favour of the Chronicle being James's own composition.

"and the other islands that pertain to it? the third, "how and whom am I to consult so that that action "shall be for the honour of God?" Saying which I ended my speech.

XLIX.

And the Archbishop of Tarragona, En Esparech, arose at the prayer of the barons, who wished him to speak first; and his answer was: "My lord, "we know well that you came young among us, "and that you have need of good advice on such "great matters as you have brought before us here; "we will give such advice to you, and make you "such answer as shall be for the honour of God and "of you and of us." En Guillen de Moncada then answered for the barons and for himself, and said that he gave great thanks to our Lord for the good intent that He had given me; but because the thing was of great importance, they (the barons) could not reply without much counsel; "this however we "say before you all, that the advice shall be such as "you should take and we give." And they of the cities spoke next, and En Berenguer Girart, who was of Barcelona, answered for them; he rose and said, "The Lord, who is your Lord and ours, has "put into your will those good things that you "just said to us; and may it please Him that our "reply be such that you may fulfil your wish to God's

"honour and your own. We will hold our consulta-
"tion with the nobles, and will reply to you." The Archbishop then said, "The Clergy will deliberate "apart, and the nobles apart, and the men of the "cities by themselves." And all assented to this. In that way, on that day the Cortes were divided; and they deliberated, and on the third day made their reply. And then we all were in secret council apart; and the barons were there, and spoke to me before the archbishop and the bishops. And the Count of Ampurias arose and said: "This I will tell you, "before the answer your barons make; if any men "in the world have evil repute, we have, instead "of the good repute we once used to have. You "have come among us as our liege lord, and it "behoves you to do such works, with our help, that "the good name we have lost we do recover it; "and we will recover it in this way: if you conquer "a Saracen kingdom in the sea with our help, "all the bad repute that we have will be taken away "from us, for it will be the greatest deed that "Christians have done for a hundred years; it is "better that we die and regain the good name that "we were wont to have, and the esteem that our "lineage used to have, than to live in this evil "repute in which we now are; wherefore, I say that "on every account in the world, by my advice, this "enterprise should be done." All agreed with the speech of the Count of Ampurias, and every one

said such good words as he could for the promotion of the undertaking. That evening it was settled that in the morning there should be general Cortes, and that they (the barons) should first speak, to lead on the clergy and the men of the cities; and a message was sent by the barons to the archbishop, the abbots, and the bishops to be before me, in the morning, to make answer.

L.

And in the morning, when morning masses were said, all came to Cortes, and entrusted G. de Moncada to speak what they had agreed on. He rose and said: "My lord, true thing is it that God "made you to rule us, and made us that we should "serve you well and loyally; but we cannot serve "you well and loyally if we do not raise your reputa- "tion and honour with all our power, for your rise is "our rise, and your welfare falls also on us: so good "reason is there that we should wish what is good "for both. And as it seems that the enterprise of "which you have spoken to us, *i.e.* conquering the "kingdom of Mallorca in the sea, will be a greater "honour than if you conquered three kingdoms on "land; and as we ought, my lord, to strive for "your honour above all things in the world, there- "fore we speak to you on the three things on "which you asked our advice, that you make peace

"in your land, and that we [the barons] help you "so that this action may be performed to your "honour and ours. First, that you make peace "and truce throughout Catalonia, putting down in "your writings and deeds all those who will be "in it; and Don Nuño here, who is grandson "of the Count of Barcelona, shall be included "in the peace for two reasons, one for the good "kindred he has with you, the other for the good "works you wish to do; and if any one of "Catalonia will not be in it" (the peace) "we will "make him be, whether it please or displease him. "And also we will that you levy 'bovatge'[1] on our "men; this we give to you as a gift, for once "already you have taken it of right, as is custom "of the kings to take it once [during their reign]; "but this we give you of grace and love that "you may do well your enterprise. As to my-"self, I offer to you that I and my lineage will "serve you in it with four hundred armed horse, "and that until God have given you the island of "Mallorca, with the lordships of the other islands "that are around it, Minorca and Iviça, we will "not leave you till the conquest be complete. "Don Nuño and the others will each for himself "say what aid he will bring; and we pray you that, "since we do those three things for you, you do "give us a share in the conquest that you make

[1] Feudal tax levied on each yoke of oxen.

"with us, a share of the movables as well as of the "immovables; for we will serve you well, and we "wish to have such a share that for all time shall "be a memorial of the service that we do you." So he ended his discourse.

LI.

And Don Nuño Sanchez, who was a son[1] of the Count of Barcelona, rose and said, "My lord, the "discourse that En G. de Moncada has addressed "to you is very good, and he speaks well for him- "self and for his lineage. I will make answer for "myself; the Lord who made you willed that you "should be our lord and king, and since it pleased "Him so, it should also please us, and me more "than all because of the kindred I have with you, "and the sovereignty you have over me. If you get "honour and advancement, I shall have my share "also, for it was the will of God that I should be of "your lineage; it is a good and meritorious work, "for it is the work of God, and he who works with "God cannot work ill. I pledge myself and the "land your father gave me to peace and truce, that "is to say, Rosellon, Conflent, and Cerdagne, and "will keep peace in my days. I grant you the right "of levying a 'bovatge'; moreover, I will accom-

[1] Grandson, not son, of Remon Berenguer, great-grandfather of King James.

"pany you with a hundred armed knights at my "own expense. Do you give me a share of land "and movables according to the horse and foot I "bring, and to the ships and galleys that may be "fitted out by me, and I will serve you in that land "till God shall give you to gain it." And when Don Nuño had finished his discourse, the Count of Ampurias rose and said, "My lord, one cannot "praise too much the enterprise you intend, for "the honour and advantage it will bring are clear; "and I promise you to go with sixty knights on "armoured horses. And although God made me "Count of Ampurias, yet En G. de Moncada is "the foremost man of our lineage and the noblest, "for he is Lord of Bearn and Moncada, which he "holds of you, and of Castelví, which is his own; "and I give the same pledges that he has given. "To that number of four hundred knights I put my "sixty, for he shall lead there for you all our lineage; "and from the share promised to him and to the "others do you give to me according to the horse "and foot I take; and the knights that we and others "take will all have armoured horses."

LII.

And then the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and said, "'Viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.' Those are "the words of Simeon when he received our Lord

"in his arms and said, 'Seen have my eyes thy
"'salvation; [so do I say] my eyes beheld your
"'salvation.' And I add, though Scripture does not,
"that since we see your salvation we see our own.
"Our salvation is, that you begin the work of
"setting your heart to good works. And that is
"ours, when you advance in repute and honour and
"power; for if your power and your advancement
"are works of God, we consider yours as ours; and
"the intent that you and the noblemen who are
"with you have formed and mean to begin to
"execute is to the honour of God and all the
"court of Heaven, and to gain that you and your
"men receive and will receive in this world, and in
"the other which is without end; and so may it
"please God, who has thus assembled this Cortes,
"that it be to His service and to your gain, and
"that the barons here assembled may all do you
"such service that you may thank them much
"for it. When God shall give you that kingdom
"that you have in your heart to conquer, and
"they with you, may you do well by them, and
"divide the lands and movables with those who will
"help and serve you. For myself and the Church of
"Tarragona I tell you this much; that for myself I
"never yet bore arms, and I am of an age at which
"I could ill bear them; but as for my goods and my
"men I give you power to use them as you could
"use your own. And if any bishop or abbot wishes

"to go with you and serve in person, it will please "me well, and I give him licence to do it in God's "name and in mine; for in so good a venture as "this every man should aid in word and deed; "and God, who came on earth for our salvation, "let you end that enterprise to your and our "content."

LIII.

And then arose the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenger de Palou, and said, "To you one may "apply the vision that the Father sent to our Lord "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose name was [in] "Excelsis, for there was our Lord the Son of God, "and Moses, and Elias, and Saint Peter.[1] And "Saint Peter said, 'It would be a fit thing that we "'made here three places of tabernacles; the first "'for our Lord Jesus Christ, and the other for "'Moses, and the other for Elias.' And thereon "came a great thunder from heaven, and all fell on "the earth, and when all had fallen fear seized them. "And the cloud from heaven came, and lowered on "them and spoke, '*Ecce Filius meus dilectus qui in* "'*corde meo placuit.*' Such a vision can one apply "to you, for you are a son of our Lord, when you

[1] "Car hi era nostre senyor "Jesu Christ, fill de Deus, Moysen, "Elias, e sent Pere." The bishop or his reporter, not the present translator, has to account for this extraordinary sentence.

"resolve to pursue the enemies of the faith and of "the cross. I trust in Him that, for this good "intent you have, you may gain the kingdom of "Heaven. And I offer you for myself and the "church of Barcelona a hundred knights or more "to be maintained by me till God gives us to "conquer those islands of Mallorca; and do you "give me my share, according to the men I take, "for seamen as well as for knights." And then the Bishop of Gerona said, "I give thanks to our Lord "for the good intent that God has given to you "and to your Cortes, and if I would I could say "much in praise of that good work; but that our "Archbishop, the Bishop of Barcelona, En Guillen "de Moncada, Don Nuño, and the Count of "Ampurias have already said so fully what I meant "to say. But I offer you for myself and for the "church of Gerona that I will go with you with "thirty knights; and do you give me a share "according as you give it to the others."

LIV.

And the Abbot of Saint Feliu de Guixols rose and said, that he would accompany me with five well-appointed knights. And then the Provost[1] of Tarragona rose and said, "I have not so many "knights as they have; but I will follow you with

[1] "Lo Provost" (præpositus?) appears to be some ecclesiastic of rank.

"four knights and an armed galley." And after those En Pedro Grony[1] arose and said, "My lord, "all we of the city of Barcelona give thanks for "the good intent God has given you, and we have "trust in the Lord that you will complete it to "your wish; we offer you first the light barques "and the ships and the vessels of burthen[2] that "are in Barcelona to serve you on this meritorious "expedition, undertaken for the honour of God; "and we will so do that we may have your thanks "for ever for the service that we shall now do you; "and we will not say more for the rest of the "cities, for only Barcelona is [represented] here." And Tarragona and Tortosa made the same engagement as the chief men (*prohomens*) of Barcelona.

LV.

After these addresses they asked me to prepare a writing, setting forth the division to be made of the lands I might conquer with their help, as well as of the movables; and the purport of the writing was, that according to the knights and the armed men, and ships and galleys and vessels, and the equipments in them, I, when the Lord had given us victory, would give to them a share, and to those who went with me, horse and foot, according to the

[1] Desclot calls him En Pere Groyn.

[2] "Los corsos e las naus e els leñys."

munitions they brought. And that division of the booty would be made as to everything captured in the expedition after the army started; and so I promised them, on God's faith, that I would keep it without fail; they on the other hand promised that they would serve me well and loyally, and would not put down more men than actually went [to the expedition]. That was the beginning that I made of the crossing to Mallorca; and I appointed a day in the middle of May for all to be at Salou. So the Cortes separated, and every one thought of his preparations. And the barons all took an oath to be at Salou on the 1st May, with all their equipments, without fail. On that day I myself was there, and remained till the beginning of September waiting to cross, and for ships and galleys to come to me; and so I waited till the fleet was complete. Part of it was at Cambrils; the greater part, with which I was, in the port of Salou and on the shore; the rest at Tarragona, for most of the ships belonged to that place. And the fleet was this: there were twenty-five full-sized ships, and eighteen *taridas*,[1] and seventeen galleys, and a hundred *brices*[2] and

[1] *Taridas*, tartans, large open vessels used especially for carrying horses. Some such craft appear in the Bayeux tapestry. The word seems of Arabic origin, طريدة.

[2] "E entre *brices* e galeases C. "E axi foren CL lenys capdals "menys de les barques menudes." *Brices*, pl. of *brica*, are said to be flat-bottomed vessels, destined for the transport of horses and engines of war. But then what are *tarides* or *terides?* The

galliots; and so there were in all a hundred and fifty large vessels, besides small barques.

LVI.

And, before starting, I ordered how the fleet should go: first, that the ship of En Bouet, in which Guillen de Moncada went, should lead, and should carry a lantern as light; and that that of En Carrós should take the rearguard, and carry another lantern as light. And that the galleys should go round the fleet, so that if any galley [of the enemy] came to the fleet, it should first encounter our galleys. And I started on a Wednesday morning from Salou with a land breeze. I had stayed there so long that any wind was good for us that could move us from the land. And when at Tarragona and Cambrils they saw that the fleet moved from Salou they too made sail; and it made a fine sight for those who stayed on land and for us, for all the sea seemed white with sails, so large a fleet was it. I myself sailed in the rear of the whole fleet on the galley of Montpeslier;[1] and I collected fully a thousand men in boats who wished to go with us, and would not otherwise have gone. And when I had gone

meaning of *leñys*, elsewhere called *fustes*, is, literally speaking, "woods." About this time *leño* and *fusta* served in Castille and in the rest of Spain to designate any kind of vessel.

[1] "E nos moguen en darrera "del stol en la galea de Mont- "pessler, a faem be M. homens "recullir en barques, que volien "anar ab nos, que nangu no hi "passara."

twenty miles of sea, the wind changed to the south-west,[1] and the sailing-masters[2] of my galley came to me, in concert with the sailors, and said, "My lord, "we are your subjects, and are bound to guard "you life and limb, and to give you good advice, "as well as we know. This south-west wind is not "good for us nor for your fleet; rather it is so "against you that you cannot make the island of "Mallorca with it; by our advice you will put about "and go back to land. God will soon give you a wind "for crossing." When I had heard their words and counsel, I told them that I would not do so on any account; for many were in the ships who, for the harm the sea did them, would willingly run away from it, and dared not cross over with us, and if we put back to land would most certainly leave us, for they were not men of courage. I further told them that I was going on that expedition for the love of God, and against those who do not believe in Him, and that I went thither against them for two reasons, either to convert them and turn that kingdom to the faith of our Lord, or destroy them; and since I went in His name, I had faith in Him that He would guide us. When the masters of the galley heard that such was my will, they told

[1] "Mudas lo vent a llabeig." Llabeig, in Span. *lebeche*, is the wind from the south-western coast of Africa. At Marseilles and in the Provence it is still called "labech" from *Lybicus*, and "garbin" from Garb (Algarbe), or Western Africa.

[2] Comit, in Span. *comitre*.

me that they would do what they could in the matter; and that they had no doubt the faith I had must guide us. The hour of vespers had come; and in the first hours of night I overtook the ship of En Guillen de Moncada, who had the lead; and I went to the lantern and hailed him, and asked, "What ship is that?" And the men asked in return, "What galley is it?" and my men replied, "It is the king's galley." Whereupon they told us, "You are a hundred thousand times "welcome: this is the ship of En Guillen de "Moncada;" and we sailed away. So that though I sailed last from Salou, by the first watch of the night, my galley was in the morning of next day before all the other ships. In this way we went all night with the south-west wind, my galley, I, and all the rest as close hauled to the wind as we could; and so ran all night before the fleet without shifting or shortening sail as fast as my galley could run. And between nones and vespers, as the wind rose the sea got higher and higher; so high was it that a third of my galley forwards went under water when the heavy waves of the sea came upon her. Towards vespers, before sunset, the wind abated, and we saw in the distance the island of Mallorca, and could distinguish La Palomera and Soller and Almerug.[1]

[1] "Soyler e Almaluig" in Desclot. A hundred and twenty or thirty miles in a straight line from Salou.

LVII.

And thereon they said to me, that as we came in sight of the island it would be well to lower sails, if I pleased, that we might not be seen from the land. I said that it might be done so, and accordingly the sails were lowered. The sea was calm when we did so. Then they said that they would light a lantern, but that they feared the watchmen on the island would see it. I told them, "There is a plan to adopt. Put a thick cloak on "the side towards the island, and the lantern on "the poop, covered on the side of the high land by "the cloth, so that the fleet might see it, and your "object will be attained." They said they thought that plan good, and did as suggested. And I then could see lanterns on ships and lanterns on galleys; I knew that they had seen us, and that the fleet was coming. And when it was nearly the first watch two galleys came to us, and I asked them for news of the fleet. And they said that all were coming as they best could. At midnight I could see and count from thirty to forty ships, galleys, and transports. The moon was bright, a breeze had sprung from the west, and I said, "By that breeze we can reach Pollença," which had been from the beginning fixed as the place of landing. We therefore

made sail for it, as well as all those who were on the sea at the time. As we were sailing thither in smooth water and with fine weather, there came a cloud against the wind from Provence; and a seaman on my galley, En Berenguer Sagran by name, who was sailing-master, said, "I do not "like that cloud that comes from the quarter of "Provence wind." And he ordered sailors to be ready at the ropes, some forward, some aft; and when they were ready, and the galley in good order, the wind came taking the sails aback; and when it came the master called out, "Lower, lower!" And all the ships and vessels about us were in great confusion, and had great difficulty in lowering sail. And there arose great clamour among them, for the wind came suddenly on them; indeed, it was a white squall.[1] We furled sails, as did the rest; and a bad sea got up as that Provence wind drove back the south-west wind. The ships and galleys and vessels around us in the fleet were under bare poles. And there was a bad sea with that Provence wind, and no one in my galley spoke a word; all were quiet, and the vessels were driving round us. I saw the danger we were in. I was greatly discomforted, but I turned to Our Lord and His Mother, and prayed thus: "Lord God,

[1] "Cala, cala! Carga, carga!" would be the cry in Spanish. "Carguer voiles," said the French sailors about the same time. See Jale, *Dict. Naut.* v. *Cargar.*

"I know well that Thou hast made me king of the "land, and of the goods that my father held by Thy "grace. Until this time I had not begun any great "or perilous enterprise, seeing that Thy help has "been felt from my birth up to this time, and Thou "hast given us honour and help against our bad "subjects, who would overthrow us. Now, O Lord "my Creator, help me, if it please Thee, in this so "great danger, that so good a work as I have "begun may not be lost, for I alone would not "lose, but Thou wouldst lose more; for I go on "this expedition to exalt the faith that Thou hast "given us, and to abase and destroy those who do "not believe in Thee; and so, O true and powerful "God! you can guard me in this danger, and fulfil "my will, which is to serve Thee. And I should "remember Thee, for as yet no creature ever "called to Thee for mercy that did not find it, and "especially they who have it in their heart to serve "Thee and who suffer for Thy sake, and I am "one of them. And, O Lord, remember so many "people who go with me to serve Thee; and "Thou, Mother of God, who art a bridge and "a pathway for sinners, I beseech Thee, by the "seven joys and the seven sorrows that Thou "hadst for Thy dear Lord, to remember me, by "praying to Thy dear Son to take me from "this affliction and danger in which I am, and "those with me."

LVIII.

And after that prayer the thought came to me how it had been previously agreed between the barons and those who were expert in sea matters that we should land at Pollença. I asked, "Is "there in this my galley any one who has been "in Mallorca and in the island?" And En Berenguer Gayron,[1] master of the galley, replied that he had been in the country. And I asked him: "What harbours are there near the city, on the side towards Catalonia?" And he said that there was a hill three leagues from the city by land and twenty miles by sea: the hill was called Dragonera; it was not on the mainland of Mallorca, but separated from it by an arm of the sea; that there was a spring of fresh water on it, and that when he himself was there with his ship his men got water from it. And that near it was another hill, not connected either with the mainland, the name of which was Pantalere, and it was a long cross-bow shot from the mainland to that hill. And I said to him, "Why "should we seek any place but that to land at, "since we have there fresh water and a good "harbour, where the horses can rest, despite the "Saracens; and all our fleet will come, and we

[1] In Desclot, "Guayron."

"can attempt to advantage what we choose?" So I told them to sail before the Provence wind, and that they could get in with that wind. We therefore made sail for it, and told the people of the galley to tell all other ships to make sail also, and that it was by my command; and every ship and galley to follow us to the harbour of Palomera. And so all made sail when they saw my galley make it. And behold the goodness of God, what it is! With that wind, which took us to Mallorca, we could never have taken Pollença as intended; that which we thought was against us helped us on, for all and every one of the vessels that were to leeward went with that wind to the Palomera, where my galley was; so that not a vessel or barque was lost or missing from the whole fleet. We entered the harbour of Palomera on the first Friday in September,[1] and by Saturday night all the fleet had anchored in its harbour.

LIX.

And on that same Saturday I sent for the barons and nobles of my court, that is for Don Nuño, for the Count of Ampurias, and En Guillen de Moncada, and for the others; and I sent also for some of the shipmasters of most authority in the fleet, and consulted them as to what had better be done

[1] 7th September, 1229.

first. The advice given was this: to send Don Nuño in his own galley, and En Ramon de Moncada in the galley of Tortosa, to go along the coast as if they were going to Mallorca; and we all would land wherever they thought the fleet should stop. They found a place called Santa Ponza, and they thought it a good one to land at; there was a hill near the sea, on which hill, if five hundred men[1] were put, there was no fear of their being dislodged before the rest of the fleet arrived. So it was determined that on Sunday we should rest on that hill of Pantaleu, and so we did. At mid-day on Sunday a Saracen, named Ali, came from La Palomera, swimming, and told us news of the island, of the king, and of the city. At midnight I ordered the galleys to weigh anchor, and that no one should cry *ayós*,[2] but that in order to keep time at weighing anchor, they should strike with a stick on the prow of the transports and galleys. It was a good harbour, and vessels required only one anchor down. And that was done so, for before us, on the shore, were no less than five thousand Saracens, and fully two hundred horse, and their tents pitched. And when midnight came, you would say that

[1] The edition of 1557 has one hundred men: the Spanish version "quinientos hombres." No reason, however, is given for the alteration.

[2] "*Ayós*," pronounced Aaa-yós, is the monotonous and prolonged cry uttered by sailors in the act of drawing up anchors.

not one man spoke in all the fleet. Each of the twelve galleys towed a transport,[1] and went towing them gently out of harbour. The Saracens perceived this, and roused themselves; our people, who towed transports, stopped rowing and listened, but went on towing gently. And after a bit, the Saracens shouted loud for a time, and I saw that we were completely discovered. They shouted; and we shouted, "Let us go, and good luck be with us." The Saracens went by land, horse, and foot, watching well where we should land; and our twelve galleys and twelve transports made such exertions that they actually got to the landing before them.

LX.

And those who landed first were Don Nuño, Don Ramon de Moncada, the Master of the Temple, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and En Gilabert de Cruyles. Before they arrived on the shore, there were fully seven hundred Christian footmen on the hill near the sea; the cavalry[2] might be a hundred

[1] The word translated by "transports" is *terides*, which is another form for *tarides*. See above, p. 112, note 1, "E lu galeas "que hi hauia carsuna tiraua sa "terìda e anauen traent les terides "del port guit e suau."

[2] Each knight or man-at-arms had four or more squires and servants under his orders; this must be well borne in mind throughout this narrative of James's campaigns, or else the number of knights must appear exceedingly small.

and fifty. The Saracens were ranged in battle before them; and they were fully five thousand foot and two hundred horse. En Remon de Moncada came up and said that he would reconnoitre them; he went alone, saying, "Let no one come with me." And when he got near the enemy, he called for our people, and when they got up to him, he said, "Let us charge them, for they are good for nothing." He was the first to reach them; when the Christians were within four lance lengths of them, the Moors turned their heads and fled. They did their best to reach them, and more than fifteen hundred Saracens were killed on this occasion, for our men would take no prisoners. When they had done this, they returned to the sea shore. When I landed, I found my horse saddled, and I heard one of the Aragonese knights, who had just landed from one of the transports, say, "Ill luck for us! that the first "battle in Mallorca is already won, and we were "not in it." I then said, "Are there any knights "who will go with me far into the island?" And those who were already armed went along with me, about twenty-five of them. And we all went trotting[1] towards where the battle had been. And

[1] Darlot. "E ixquem trotant e "*darlot* contra alli hon era stada "la batalla," says the text (fol. xxiii.). The word "darlot" is entirely unknown to me, nor is it to be found in any of the Provençal dictionaries that I have consulted. *Arlot*, in old French, meant a camp-follower, a worthless fellow. *Exir d'arlot* might therefore mean "ride fast though without orders."

we saw on a hill there from three to four hundred Saracen foot. They saw us also, and went down from the hill on which they were, and made for another hill there was farther off. And a knight, one of the Ahe of Tahust, said, "My lord, if you wish to overtake them, let us be quick." So I made haste, and on reaching them killed four or five of them; and as my people continued to come up they overthrew and killed the Moors as they encountered them. I, and three more knights with me, came against a dismounted knight, who had his shield on his arm, his lance in his hand, his sword girt, his Zaragozan helmet on his head, and a coat of mail on. We summoned him to surrender; but he turned against us with his lance, and would make no reply. I then said, "Barons, horses "are of great value in this country; each of us has "but one, and one horse is worth twenty Saracens. "I will show you how to kill this one; let us "surround him, when he thrusts at one of us with "his lance, let another strike him in the back, "and send him down; so he will hurt no one." As we were about doing that, Don Pedro Lobera came, and ran at the Saracen; the Saracen, who saw him, thrust his lance into the chest of the horse so that it went half a fathom in. The horse, however, went up against him (the Saracen), and threw him down; he tried to rise, and put his hand to his sword. Thereon we all fell upon him and

told him to surrender. Still he would go on and die rather than surrender. We again said to him, "Surrender." He said "Le,"[1] which means "No." Some eighty besides him were killed. And we returned to the camp.

LXI.

As I entered it (it might then be near sunset), En Guillen de Moncada, En Remon[2] de Moncada, and other knights with them, came to greet and welcome me. I dismounted and went towards them on foot; En Guillen de Moncada smiled; I was glad, for I had been afraid of his scolding me for my rashness, and perceived that he would not be so hard upon me as I had thought. En Remon de Moncada said "What have you been doing? Did you want to "kill yourself and us all? Had we by ill luck lost "you—and you have no doubt run risk of it—the "army and all else would have been lost; and then "this good work we have in hand would never have "been done by any man on earth." En Guillen de Moncada said, "En Remon, true the king has "done a very foolish thing; nevertheless we may "hold it for a good deed of arms; it was right well "of him to be so angry and impatient at not being

[1] Lá or lé is the negative in Arabic.

[2] Ramon, Remon, Raymundo, are only varieties of the same name. *Ramon* is the Castillian appellation, and it will be observed that *Don Ramon de Moncada* is often used in these pages instead of *En Remon de Muntcada*, which was that of the Catalonian baron.

"in the battle. And, my lord," continued he, addressing me, "restrain yourself, for in you lies "life or death for us; comfort yourself with one "thing, that since you have set foot on this land "you are henceforwards king of Mallorca; if you "die in the attempt, you die as the best man in the "world; and even if you lie disabled in bed you will "hold this land for your own, for yours it is." En Remon de Moncada then said: "My lord, we "must now consider how we are to guard ourselves "to-night, for in this night will be the greatest "danger that you will encounter in this country; for "if we do not keep good watch, so that we may "arm ourselves before they get at us, all of us will "be lost." And I said to them: "You, who know "better than I, say at once what to do; what will "be our next step?" They said, "Then, my lord, "arm a hundred horse to-night, and let them be on "the lookout so far off that the camp can be under "arms before the Saracens get at us." My answer was that he spoke well. I had not yet eaten any dinner, and I said that after it I would send messages to the nobles, for each of them to arm the third part of his retainers, horse and foot as well, and send out scouts to bring in news if they heard any. And so, after I had eaten a morsel, I sent my porters to each of the barons, but found they could not send out any people, owing to the disorderly state of their bands, both men and horses, owing to the sea and

the battle that had been fought on the coast. I relied, however, on their sending out scouts, and went to sleep. Our ships, with full three hundred knights and their horses on board, were then at the Cape of La Porrassa ; and at vespers they saw the army of the King of Mallorca on the hill above the harbour of Portupi. Then Don Ladron, an Aragonese noble in my suite, who was on board one of the ships, arranged with the knights inside of her to send a barque by sea to tell me of the King of Mallorca and his army being on the hills above the harbour of Portupi with their tents pitched, and that I should keep on my guard. That message came to me at midnight before Wednesday. I then sent a messenger to En Guillen de Moncada, Don Nuño, and the nobles of the army, but for all that they did not rise till daybreak. When day broke we all rose, and heard mass in my tent ; and the Bishop of Barcelona preached the following sermon.

LXII.

" Barons, this is not the time for a long sermon, " the occasion does not allow it ; the enterprise in " which the King, our lord, and you are engaged, is " the work of God, not ours. You should reckon " upon this, that whoever should die in this meri- " torious work will die for our Lord, and will have " Paradise and everlasting glory therein for all time ;

"and they who shall live will have honour and "praise in life and a good end at death. And, "barons, strengthen yourselves in God; for our "lord, the king, and we, and you, all desire to "destroy those who deny the name of Jesus Christ. "Each man should and can trust, that God and His "Mother will to-day not depart from us, but rather "will give us victory; so you should have good "heart, and trust that we will overcome everything, "for the battle will be this day. And comfort you "well and rejoice, for we go with our good liege "lord, the King, and God who is over him and over "us all will help us." And so the bishop ended his sermon.

LXIII.

And after mass, En Guillen de Moncada partook of the communion. I and the greater part [of the army] had taken it before embarking. He (Moncada) received his Creator on his knees, sobbing, and the tears falling down his face. After that they talked about who should lead the attack. En Guillen de Moncada said, "You take it, En Nuño." And En Nuño said: "To-day, do you rather take it." En Remon de Moncada said: "En Nuño, we know well why you say and do "that—you speak out of love for the hard blows in "the battle that we shall get at the Porrassa."

En Guillen de Moncada said: "Any how, it does not matter to me." And En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada had agreed that till they got to the battle line of the Saracens they would not pause. Thereon came one of my men to me and said: "Lo! all the infantry are going out of the camp, and intend to advance." I mounted a hackney, and En Rocafort went with me; he found a mare and mounted her, for he had not his horse, which was yet on board ship. I ordered my horse to be brought, and meantime went up to the infantry, who were between four and five thousand, and addressed them in these words: "Bad traitors[1] "that you are! How can you go in that way? "for if a few horsemen come down on you, they "are sure to kill you to a man." The men perceived that I spoke sense to them, and accordingly stopped and said: "The King speaks the truth, we were proceeding like so many blockheads." I thus kept them till En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada, the Count of Ampurias, and those of his house, came up, and I said: "Here are the "infantry, whom I have stopped as they were going "out." They said: "You have done right well." The infantry was handed over to them, and all went away together. And when they had gone

[1] "Mal traidors." The king could use the words only as indefinite abuse. He spoke, it will be remarked, pure Provençal grammar in making *mal* a plural.

a little way, I heard a great noise, whereupon I sent a message to Don Nuño to tell him of that, for certainly a great noise was in the air, and I was much afraid that our people had fallen in with the Saracens. The messenger did not return, and I began to think that he had been too long away. I then said: "En Rocafort, since our "messenger does not come back, go you there and "warn them; tell Don Nuño that I take amiss "his delay this day, for peradventure I may get "such hurt from it as all his money could not "repair; it is not right that the vanguard should "be so far from the rearguard, that the one cannot "see the other." En Rocafort said: "You, my lord, "are here alone, and on no account will I leave "you." And I presently said: "Saint Mary! that "Don Nuño and the knights should be so slow; "very badly are they acting against me this day." As I spoke I distinctly heard the clash of arms, and cries, and I said: "O, Saint Mary! do thou aid "our men, for it seems as if they had met the "enemy." And meanwhile Don Nuño came, and Bertran de Naya with him; and Lope Xemenez de Lusiá, Don Pedro Pomar, and all his company, En Dalmau and En Jaçpert de Barberá. They said to me: "Why are you here?" I said: "I "came here through the infantry, that I had to "stop; it seems now as if they were engaging the "Saracens; for God's sake let us be on our guard."

En Bertran de Naya said: "Have you your quilted coat here?" I said: "No I have not." "Then take this," replied En Bertran. I dismounted, put on the coat he gave me, and my own coat of mail over it, had my iron cap well secured on my head, and sent word to Don Pedro Corneyl, Don Eximen Dorrea and En Oliver to be on their guard, as the battle had actually commenced.

LXIV.

And when the battle was nearly finished I met a knight, and said to him: "How has it gone with you, and what have our people done?" He said: "The Count of Ampurias and the Templars "attacked the tents, and En Guillen and En "Remon de Moncada attacked the left." I said: "And you know no more?" "Yes, that the "Christians have beaten back the Saracens three "times, and the Saracens the Christians three times also." I said: "Where are they?" He said: "At that hill." I then met En Guillen de Mediona, than whom they said there was in all Catalonia no man who tilted better; he was a good knight, and was coming away from the battle bleeding from his upper lip. I said to him: "En Guillen de Mediona, why do you leave the battle?" He said: "Because I am wounded." I thought he had some mortal wound in the body, and said:

"How are you wounded?" "I am wounded by a stone that struck me on the mouth." I took hold of the reins of his horse and said: "Turn "again to the battle; a good knight for such a "blow as that should be enraged, not leave the "battle." But after a while, when I looked out for him, I did not see him. When I had got up on the hill there were not more than twelve knights with me, the banner of Don Nuño, and Rothan who had charge of it, the Sieur Guilleaumes, son of the King of Navarre and others; there might be in all as many as thirty knights, and they passed before me. Up on the hill where the Saracens were, there was a great body of footmen; and a banner of red and white divided lengthways, with the head of a man, or if not that, a wooden head on the spike. I said to Don Nuño: "Don Nuño, "let us go up to that body of infantry yonder on "the top of that hill; they seem already beaten, "and are evidently disorderly and in confusion; "when men in a field of battle are in that condi- "tion, any one can attack them, and, if vigorously "assailed, they will soon disperse." And he and Don Pedro Pomar, and Ruy Ximenez Delvesia[1] took my horse by the rein and said: "Your mad- ness on this day will be the cause of our death." They went on giving great pulls at the bridle until I said: "You need not do that; I am not a lion

[1] De Lusiá? See above, page 130.

"or leopard, and since you will have it so, I will "wait; God will that ill do not come of it!"

LXV.

Thereon En Jaspert de Barberá came up and told Don Nuño to go forward, who said, "I will." I then said: "Since En Jaspert goes, I will go." "And why you?" said Don Nuño, "have you already "become a lion of arms? You may chance to find "yonder as good a one or better than yourself." And before En Jaspert had moved on with the seventy knights, the Moors shouted, threw stones, and advanced a little, upon which the banner of Don Nuño and they who were with him turned back. And though they kept a good countenance, they came down a good stone's throw towards me, and some of my men cried out "Shame!" The Saracens did not follow them, and they stopped; meantime my banner and following, with a hundred knights or more who guarded it, came up, and the men said, "Here comes the King's banner." We went down the hill, and joined the troop of the banner. Then we pushed up all together. The Saracens took to flight; we found fully two thousand Saracen infantry, who went before us in flight; we could not overtake them, neither we nor any of the other knights, so worn out were our horses. And when the battle was won, and we were on the

hill, Don Nuño came up to us and said, "A good "day for you and for us; all is ours, since you have "won this battle."

LXVI.

Then I said to Don Nuño: "Let us go to the "town; the King of Mallorca is on the hills, and "cannot get there so soon as we can; you may see "him there in the midst of that crowd, dressed in "white; we will cut him off from the city." As I began to descend from the hills and go into the plain towards the city, En Remon Alaman came to me and said: "My lord, what are you doing?" I said, "Going to the city, to cut off the King from "putting troops into it." "Oh! my lord, you are "doing what no king ever did; no general who has "won a battle, but passes the night on the field to "learn what he has lost and won." I said, "Know, "En Remon Alaman, that what I intend doing is "best." Meanwhile I descended the hillside, and went slowly along the road towards the city. And when I had ridden about a mile the Bishop of Barcelona came up to me and said: "My lord, for God's sake "do not make such haste." "Why not, bishop? "this appears to me the best thing to do." He said, "Let me speak to you;" and he took me aside and said, "Oh, my lord! you have this day lost more "than you imagine; En Guillen and En Remon

"de Moncada are dead." "Dead!" said I, and I burst into tears; presently I said to the bishop, "Let us not weep, this is not a time for weep-"ing; and let us carry their bodies off the field "since they are dead." "So we will," said the "bishop. "Do you wait for us here." "I will," said I.

LXVII.

And I went little by little up to the hill of Portupi, and from thence saw Mallorca in the distance, and it seemed to me the finest city I had ever seen, and those who were with me thought the same. There I met Don Pelegrin Atrosillo,[1] and asked him if there was any water by, at which we could camp for the night. He said, "Yes, there is yonder a "small stream; I have seen the Sheikh[2] go thither "with fully twenty horsemen, and drink; but as "we were only four, we dared not attack "them." I went forward and found the water, and encamped there that night. Soon after Don Nuño came, and I said to him, "By God's faith "I am very hungry, for I have eaten nothing "all day." And he said, "My lord, En Oliver "has pitched his tent yonder; he has cooked food, "and you can eat with him." "Let us go then," said I, "wherever you please." We went there and

[1] D'Atrosil.

[2] The King of Mallorca, generally called Xeque, from the Arabic root شيخ, an elder and the chief of a tribe. His name was Abu Yahya Háquem, ابو يحي حاكم.

ate. When I had finished my meal, there were already stars in the sky. Don Nuño then said, "My lord, if you have done eating, it would be "well to go in search of the bodies of Don Guillen "and Don Remon de Moncada." I said that he spoke right well. We all went, with torches and candles; and found the former lying on a mattress, and a coverlet over him; we stayed there a while, weeping, and did the same over En Remon, who was close by. After that I returned to the tent of En Oliver, and slept there all night till day. And when morning came, they said, "Let us shift the camp." I said, "I will first make it secure against a sudden attack;" and having put on my quilted coat [1] and a coat of mail over it, I put the Aragonese on one side and the Catalans on the other, the water course (*cequia*) dividing them, and an encampment was made, though it was so small that it seemed as if only one hundred knights with their horses could hardly hold in it, yet the cords of the tents were so close together and so interlaced that for eight days no one could ride into it.[2]

[1] The word used is *gonyo*, which I presume to be the same as "perpunt" (purpoint). In old French "gonelle" meant "casaque d'homme ou de femme."

[2] "E faem la albergada tan "streta que non paria que alber- "gassen de C cauallers a evant: "si que les cordes de les tendes "se tenien entrellaçades duna a "laltra, si que be dura huyt dies "que no podia home fer carrera "en la host," says the text of the Chronicle (fol. xxv. vo). The passage is evidently vitiated. The Spanish translators appear unable, as I am myself, to understand its meaning.

LXVIII.

On the morning that the camp was established the bishops and barons assembled and came to my tent, and the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenguer de Palou, said: "My lord, it is necessary that those bodies of the dead be buried." And I said, "Certainly; when shall we bury them?" They said, "Now, or to-morrow morning, or after dinner." I said, "It will be best at matins,[1] when no one will be up, and the Saracens will not see us." And the barons said that I said well. At sunset we collected wide and long cloths, and put them up towards the town that the candles at the burial might not be seen. And when it came to burying the bodies, weeping and lamenting and crying out began. And I bid them be silent and listen to what I was about to say, and spoke thus: "Barons, these two nobles died in the service of "God, and in mine; if it were possible for me to "redeem them so that their death might be turned "into life, and God did me so much grace, I would "willingly give so much of my land that those who "heard of it would think me mad. But since God "has brought me and you here on so great a "service to Him, let no one mourn or weep. And "though your affliction be great let it not appear

[1] "L'endemá mati, al alba." Immediately after midnight.

"externally. I command you by the sovereignty I "have over you, that no one weep or lament, for I "will be a lord unto you; that duty of honour and "well doing which they held towards you will I "henceforward fill. If any of you happen to lose a "horse or aught else I will make it good, and will "supply your wants fully: you shall not miss your "lords nor perceive their loss; in such wise will I "meet your needs. Your lamentations would dis- "comfort the army and do you no good; therefore I "command you, in virtue of my power as your "liege lord, not to lament or weep any more. Do "you know what would be a true and proper "lamentation over your lords? Rightly to esteem "and honour their death, and to serve our Lord "in that for which we all came here, so that His "name be sanctified for ever." And after that speech the men abstained from lamenting, and buried their lords.

LXIX.

Next morning I held council with the bishops and the barons of the army as to unloading the transport ships. I therefore sent for a "trebuchet" and a "mangonel," and the Saracens saw plainly that we were landing timber from the ships on the sea. And whilst we were getting ready two "trebuchets"

and two "algarradas,"[1] the masters and sailors of the ships from Marseilles, of which there were four or five, came to me and said: "My lord, we "came here in the service of God and in yours; "we offer on behalf of the men from Marseilles to "make you a 'trebuchet' after our own fashion out "of the yards and spars of the ships, for the honour "of God and yours. We will construct and set up "our 'trebuchets' and one 'fonevol' besides, before "the Saracens can have theirs ready." And thus the number of war engines both outside and inside the town was twenty; outside, in our camp, there were two trebuchets, one "fonevol," and one Turkish "mangonel." The Saracens, however, made two "trebuchets" and fourteen "algarradas;" one of their algarradas was the best ever seen; it shot into the

[1] This distinction between *trebuchets*, *almajanachs*, *fonevols*, and *algarradas*, all slinging machines, appears to have consisted principally in their size and the weight of the stones they threw. Possibly there was some difference in the way of stretching and discharging them. All these "nevroballistic" engines of the thirteenth century, as they have been called from *νευρον* (cord) and *βάλλω* (I throw) may be reduced to the *funevol*, or fonevol (fundibulus), which threw large stone-balls; to the *trebuch* and *trebuquets*, a kind of catapult; the *manganell* (French, mangonneau turquesque) supposed to be the same as the *almajanec*, المجانق, of the Arabs. The *Algarrada*, الغرادة, was a "ballista" of small dimensions, and yet powerful enough to be able to shoot at a very long distance, and with great force, javelins and big stones. As to the "mantelet," called also the she-cat (*gata*), I find it used as synonymous of the *musculus*, in later times *catus*, *cat* or *chat;* it was a sort of house built with large beams of wood, and covered with a triple roof of planks generally lined with branches of trees and mud, so as to deaden the shock of the enemy's projectiles.

camp over five or six rows of tents, but the "trebuchet" that was brought by sea threw farther than any of theirs. Our people began to shoot at the Saracens inside the town, but they protected their engines as well as they could. En Jaspert then said he would show how to make a mantlet that should go up to the very edge of the moat of the town, in spite of all the engines on the walls, and of the crossbows also. He, accordingly, constructed a mantlet to go on wheels; the hurdles were threefold and had strong good timbers under them; it was, as I said, upon wheels; and it was built near the "trebuchets." It moved as they pushed it on with poles, and was covered like a house with a roof of hurdles, and brushwood on the top of it, and earth on the brushwood, so that if a stone from the "algarradas" of the Saracens struck it no harm should be done. And the Count of Ampurias made another mantlet, and had it placed near the moat, with a small body of sappers into it to work under ground, so as to come out at the bottom of the moat. I had another of the same kind made for my men. In this wise we began to make our mines; and when the three were finished, that of En Jaspert went above ground and the others under ground, at which the army was much pleased, for they saw that the work was going on well. That was, indeed, an army, such that no man in the world ever saw the like of it. So well did they perform what Friar Michael, the

Dominican, had some time before preached to them, that it was really wonderful. This Friar Michael [1] had been in the army from the beginning; he was a reader in theology and a companion of Friar Berenguer de Castelbisbal. When he had confessed the men and given them absolution, for which he had power from the bishops, he bade them bring wood or stones for the engines; the knights themselves did not leave this sort of work for the foot soldiers to do; they put their own hands to everything, and brought stones for the "fonevols" before them on the saddle, whilst their retainers took stones to the "trebuchets" on frames hanging by cords from their necks. When ordered to keep watch by day or night with their horses, as light horsemen to guard the miners or to do any duty required in the army, if fifty were ordered out for that service a hundred went. And that they who hear this book may know how hard a feat of arms was that which was achieved at Mallorca, I will only tell this one thing, that no foot soldier, sailor, or other, dared lie in the camp for three weeks, except myself, the knights and the esquires who served me; the other foot soldiers and the sailors came early in the morning from their ships and returned at night; the Provost of Tarragona was one of them; all day

[1] The name of this Dominican seems to have been Fabre; as to his companion, Berenguer de Castelbisbal, he became bishop of Gerona, and died at Naples in 1254.

they were with me, and at night they went back to their ships. My camp was fortified with strong palisades and ditches all round. There were two gates in it, and no one could leave without my order.

LXX.

And while things were thus[1] a Saracen of the island, called Infantilla,[2] collected all the mountaineers, fully five thousand, among them a hundred horsemen; and he came upon a hill, which was a strong position, over the fountain spring of Mallorca; he set his tents there—thirty or thirty-five, or as many as forty—sent his Saracens with spades, cut off the water of the spring from running towards the town, and threw it into a torrent, so that we lost that water and could not have it. And when I saw

[1] "En tant nos estan axi *torna ostre frau* e un sarraz." I cannot conjecture what the three words in italics mean. Marsilio (cap. xxv.) has, "Levá's un fil del diable per nom ifantilla," whilst Desclot (xliii. 383) says: "En aquesta sahó exí de la "ciutat un sarrahi molt valent "qui havia nom En Fatilla."

[2] I should say that *Infantilla* is an erratum for *infantillo*, the diminutive of "infante," that is, the son, brother, or nephew of a king according to Spanish fashion, for since the fourteenth century such is the appellative or title under which the younger members of the royal family are designated. But, notwithstanding that, I am inclined to think, as Romey in his *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. vi. p. 406, that *Infantilla* is but a corruption of *Fatillah* (see Desclot, p. 43), to which name the prefix *En* was added. The conjecture appears to me the more plausible that فاتح بالله, *Fatih-billah*, or the "conqueror by the grace of God," is an Arabic title assumed by several Mussulman warriors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

that the army could not endure that, and had counsel upon that, I resolved that a captain or two should go thither with one hundred horsemen to fight with the Saracens and get back the water. I then addressed myself to Don Nuño, and put him at the head of the force; he got ready and marched off: having under him, of his own people and of those I gave him, fully a hundred knights. The Saracens tried to defend the hill, but our people went against them and routed them; their chief, Infantilla, was overtaken and slain: upwards of five hundred of the Saracens were killed, the others fled to the mountains. Our people took possession of their tents, destroyed the enemy's camp, and brought the head of Infantilla to me; I had it put in the sling of the "almajanech," and threw it into the town.[1] The

[1] Desclot, who wrote sixty or seventy years after these events, says (*Hist. de Cataluña*, f. 43), that all Infantilla's party were killed, and that King James had the heads of all, four hundred and twelve in number, thrown from engines into the city: that the Moors, doubting if Infantilla's was really one of them, sent out a party of forty men to get certain news, who were all killed in their turn, excepting three, who got back, and whose report greatly discouraged those in the city. These additions, made at a period so near the time, seem to confirm faith in the earlier date of the more simple and probable narrative. Another instance, in confirmation of this remark, may be given from Desclot himself (f. 41): "The Moors, seeing their 'tre-"buchets' broken to pieces, and "the walls ruined in many places, "in despair of other remedies, in-"vented one of their wonted "cruelties, which they thought "would hinder the attack. The "next night they tied up all the "Christian prisoners they had in "the city, naked, on crosses on the "part of the walls the Christians "were battering with their 'tre-"buchets.' When morning came,

water came back to the camp, and the army rejoiced that night for the great blow we had given the enemy.

LXXI.

And on this a Saracen of the island named Beanabet[1] sent me a message by another Saracen,

"and the Christians saw so sad "a sight, with great wonder and "anger they went to the moat to "hear what those Christians might "have to say, which was, that they "earnestly entreated the army to "continue battering and throwing "down the wall, without regard to "the hurt they themselves might "receive; since, relying on God, "they themselves would endure "with great patience that trial and "death, knowing that the city "would be difficult to win, if they "did not take it on that side; and "it would not be right for their "sake not to take it. The King "of Aragon wished to take counsel "of his barons as to what should "be done in such a case; all were "of opinion that the battery should "not be slackened on that side; "for if those Christians died in so "good a cause, God would receive "their souls, giving them the re- "ward for their torment; whereas "the Moors would not remain "without punishment in soul and "body for such cruelty. With this "resolution the battering was re- "sumed, directing the shots to "where the Christians were tied; "but though the stones of the "'trebuchets' struck so near to "them that sometimes they grazed "their bodies, taking off their very "hair off their heads, yet a just "God hindered their hitting any "of them, so that not one was "killed or maimed. When night "came on, the Moors, seeing their "artifice was of no avail, took the "prisoners off the wall, returning "them to their dungeons."

Among Desclot's additions to, and embellishments of, the story of this siege, repeated mention is made of the hurdles (*hourdes*) or wooden galleries, for a knowledge of which in modern times we are indebted to M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Essai sur l'architecture militaire au moyen age*, who (f. 45) speaks of an inner line of defence, built by the Moors, of stone and lime, "with many turrets *of wood*, "and niches for cross bowmen" (ballesteras), and (f. 49) of the fall of a wall, "with all the "scaffoldings and turrets of "wood."

[1] Benahabet in Marsilio (cap. xxvii. ابن عبّاد ?).

who brought his letter, that he would gladly come to me, and would bring it about that one district out of the twelve into which the island was divided, should furnish as many supplies to the army as they themselves got in the country; and that he was sure that, if I behaved kindly to him, he could make the other districts come on to me. I showed the letter to the commanders of the army, and they all said that it was good for us to accept. Then the Saracen told me to send some knights to a safe place, which he named, a league from the camp, and that he himself would go there, trusting in me, and would make an agreement to serve us faithfully and without deceit, that I might see the good service he would do us. I accordingly sent twenty knights, who found the Saracen there. He had come with his present, full twenty beasts laden with barley, kids, fowls, and grapes; the grapes were brought in bags, and were neither broken nor crushed. This angel's present was divided among the barons in the army. I call him an angel, for though a Saracen, I have no doubt that God sent him to us; and he stood us in such good stead, that under such circumstances we likened him to an angel. He asked me for one of my flags, that if his messengers came to the camp my people might not do them hurt, and I gladly gave him one. And then he sent me messages to say that two or three other districts

in the island wished to do as he himself had done; and there did not pass a week without the Saracen sending supplies of barley, flour, fowls, kids, and grapes, to refresh the army with and comfort it; so that in fifteen days' time all the districts of Mallorca belonging to the city, up to the part against the Minorca division, were at my service and paid me obedience. I put my entire trust in that Saracen, for I found him all truth. After that he again came to me, and asked me for a Christian governor (bailli) who should hold those districts for me; and by his advice I made two governors (baillis) to rule over the districts he had brought under my sway. One was En Berenguer Durfort, of Barcelona, and the other En Jaches Sans, both gentlemen of our household, and men who knew what they were about.

LXXII.

And that they who shall see this book may know how many districts there are in Mallorca, they are fifteen. The first is Andrayig, and Santa Ponça, Bunyola, Soler, Almerug, and Polença; these are the greatest mountains of Mallorca, looking towards Catalonia. And these are the districts in the plain: Montueri, Canarossa, Incha, Petra, Muro, Ffelenig, where the castle of Santtueri is, Manacor, and

Arta.[1] In the district of the city are now fifteen markets; in the time of the Saracens there were twelve. [But to return to the narrative.] The mines were ready in three different places, one above, the others under, ground, till they got under the rampart. The enemy attacked these mines, but we defended them, some of our men going through the mines and others above, till we drove the enemy from the rampart once, and many times. The miners with picks and tools got to the towers, and began to mine them in despite of the Saracens, who could not hinder it. In this manner they first got one of the towers on props of wood, and when that tower was resting on the props, they set fire to them, till the tower came down. When the Saracens saw what mischief was being done, they came down from the other towers; but in the same way three more were thrown down at once. Before the first of these was thrown down, the Provost of Tarragona said, "My lord, will you let us have some fun?" "Yes," said I, "what is it?" "I "will have," said he, "a cable put under yonder "tower,[2] and they in the mine shall draw it, and "the props will come from under the ruined "tower." As he said, so it was done; and when

[1] The edition 1557 gives these names thus: Andraig, Sancta Ponça, Bunyola, Soller, Almaliug, Pollença; Montueri, Canarrossa, Inqua, Petra, Muro, Felanix, hon es lo castell de sent Tueri, e Manacor, e Artha.

[2] And fastened to the props.

the tower fell three Saracens came down with it; my people went out of the mines, and brought them in prisoners to the camp.

LXXIII.

Then came two men from Lerida, named En Prohet, and En Johan Rixo, besides a third in their company, and said, "My lord, if you let us, we "will so level the moat that heavy-armed horse "can go into it." I said, "Are you sure of that?" "Yes," said they, "by God's will we can do it, if "you will only have us properly protected." This pleased me well; I thanked them for their offer, and told them to begin the work at once, and that I would give them guards for protection. And they began levelling the moat in this way; they first put on a layer of timber in it, and then one of earth. When that work of levelling the moat had lasted for fifteen days, the Saracens could not possibly hinder it, so close to the town had our people got. One Sunday I dressed myself well and carefully, and looked well to the duties in the camp, the cooking, the victuals, and the working of the slinging engines. The Bishop of Barcelona was near me at the time, as well as En Carroç and other knights. I saw the smoking from a mine which the Saracens had made under it to the mound; and when I saw that, it vexed me mortally that all the labour applied and

all the time bestowed on it should be lost in one moment. I had trusted that by that work the town would be taken; that our chance should see it lost in so short a time vexed me immensely. All round me were silent. I myself remained thinking for a time until God gave me a thought, which was to turn the water again into the moat. I accordingly ordered one hundred men, armed with shields and lances and their full equipments, to go with spades, but so that the Saracens should not see them, and to turn the water from the higher ground to where the mound of earth was, and let it soak in there so as to put the fire out; and so it was done. The Moors did not repeat the attempt, but turned their attention to the mines that were being dug under ground, and made one counter-mine against each of ours, so contrived that they actually encountered our people in the mine, and drove them out. When the news came to me that the Saracens had driven our people from the mine, and that they were in possession of it, I sent for a windlass crossbow, and it so hit two Saracens, who were in front in the mine, that it killed them both at one shot, piercing their shields. When they in the mine saw that shot they abandoned it altogether; and in this way the mines under ground were completed while the moat was being filled up.[1]

[1] Villaroya (p. 134) gives, in support of his assertion that S. Pedro Nolasco was "the author "and mover" of the king's con-

LXXIV.

After that, when the Saracens saw that they could not maintain the defence, they sent us a message to say that they wished to speak with a messenger of ours, provided he were one in whom I and they could put trust. So after taking the advice of the bishops and the barons in the camp, they said to me

quests, the following letter, said by him to be preserved in a convent at Barcelona, the Mercedes. It refers to this stage of the siege. The reader will not perhaps think it proves more than that the king was in communication with the saint, as with a friend. Villaroya gives a Spanish version of the Catalan original.

"RFVEREND FATHER.—It has "pleased God that we should lay "siege to Mallorca; as you are so "powerful with our Lord that He "sent you the Holy Virgin through "your prayers, you will continue "them that the Saracens may sur- "render to us, and that He may "remove all obstacles to our siege. "But your prayers are good for "thus much, that all may fall into "our hands; for they put them- "selves in arms because the "Christians had made a mine in "the wall. The Saracens per- "ceived it through the lights that "were in it one night, and saw that "a subterranean digging or mine "was being made to overthrow the "walls: they began to dig from "the city towards that loophole, "eyelet, or breathing-place they "had seen, till they reached the "Christians' mine, so that a great "battle ensued between the "Christians and Saracens, till the "Aragonese were actually forced "to depart and leave the place. "But it happened as you had "told me, that God was on our "side. And God will have mercy "on us, as we have heard from you. "I tell you the truth, and put "myself wholly in the hands of "the Virgin Mary, that I will not "raise the siege of Mallorca till "her praise is sung in it: to that I "have sworn. Do you, who have "so much power with Heaven, "gain favour for me against the "Saracens, and I will remember "you and your religion.—In the "camp of Aragon, 8th Sept. 1229; "of the Religion of the Virgin "XI." (that is the eleventh year from the foundation of S. Pedro Nolasco's Order of Mercy).

that since the Saracens wished to parley, I could not refuse, and that it was good that some one should go to them. I then sent thither Don Nuño, with ten of his own retainers on horseback, and a Jew of Saragossa, who knew Arabic, as interpreter; the name of this latter was Don Bahihel.[1] When they got there, the Saracens asked Don Nuño what he wanted, and if he wished to say anything to them. Don Nuño said, "I did not come here on my own "account; but you sent a message to my lord, the "King, to send to you a messenger in whom he "could trust, and he chose me. I am, moreover, his "relative, and the king, to honour you and to hear "what you had to say, sent me here." The King of Mallorca then answered him: "You had better go back, for I have nothing to say to you." Don Nuño therefore came back, and I at once sent for all the members of my Privy Council, for the bishops and the nobles, that they might hear Don Nuño's account. However before Don Nuño began what he had to say, he burst into a laugh. I asked him, "Why do you laugh, Don Nuño?" "I have "good cause for it," replied he; "for the King of "Mallorca said nothing to me; he only asked what "I wanted, and I answered that I marvelled much "that so wise a man as he was should have sent a

[1] Habrel, Bachiel, and Bahiel, for the readings vary in the *Chronicle*, as well as in Marsilio and Desclot; his true name was Rabbi Babiel. He had a brother called Selomoh; both were natives of Saragossa.

"message asking for one of the army in whom we "put full trust, and then ask me, point blank, what "I wished to say to him. He had sent a message "to say he wanted to speak to the King or to his "delegate; one had been appointed; and therefore I, "Don Nuño, would say nothing to him unless he "told me first what his errand was." Whereupon the councillors deliberated, and unanimously agreed that the time would come when the King of Mallorca would be glad to speak and come to terms. And so we broke up.

LXXV.

A little time after this, Don Pero Corneyl, who had been at the Council, said to me, "Guil Dalagó,[1] "surnamed Mahomet, has twice sent me word that "he wishes to speak with me; if you please, I will "listen to what he has to say, and peradventure "he may disclose something of advantage to us all." I said, "Let it be so;" and Don Pero went away on his business. Next day, early, he came and told me all that Guil Dalagó had said to him; he had been first a Christian and a knight, and had then become a Mohammedan; he fancied that on that account, and owing to his knowledge of the language, he could arrange with the King of Mallorca, and with

[1] Gil de Alagon, a renegade, who had taken the name of Mohammad.

the sheikhs of the town and country and with all the Saracens of the island, that they should give me all that I and the barons had spent in the expedition, and let us retire home safe and sound; and that they would besides give us such surety as might be asked. When I had heard this, I said to him: "Don Pero Corneyl, I marvel much that you speak "of such a bargain to me; for I take my pledge to "God, by the faith that He has commanded and "given, that should any one offer me to pave with "gold the space between yonder mountain and this "camp, for me to leave this island, I would not take "it, nor can they (the Saracens) enter into any "agreement about Mallorca, save my getting the "town itself and the whole of the island; for never "will I return to Catalonia unless I pass first "through Mallorca. I therefore command you, on "pain of losing my love, never to speak to me again "of such a proposal as that."

LXXVI.

After this the King of Mallorca again sent a message, begging that I should send Don Nuño to speak with him. I accordingly sent him, and Don Nuño went. The King of Mallorca came outside the Port Tupi[2] gate, and had a tent pitched there, with

[1] Portopi, Portupi, Port Opi.

seats for himself and Don Nuño. Don Nuño's followers were quiet whilst the interview lasted; they did nothing against those in the town, nor did the town's people do anything against those outside. When the King of Mallorca and Don Nuño met, they went into the tent, and spoke there for some time; the king, with two of his sheikhs only, and Don Nuño, with the Alfaqui, who went as interpreter, the mounted retainers of Don Nuño remaining without with some Saracens. Then Don Nuño asked the King of Mallorca why he had sent for him. And the King said, "It is for this reason, "because I do not call to mind having ever done "wrong to your king; therefore, I marvel that he "so rages against me that he wants to take from "me this kingdom which God gave me; wherefore "I would pray him, and you also, to counsel him, "not to try and take my land from me. If he or "you, who have come here with him, have made "any outlay for that purpose, I will make it good to "him, and to you, I and the people of the land; and "do you go back, he and you, who have come here "with him, in peace and good will; for I will do "nothing to you but good and love. And so let the "king go back, and name the sum that I and the "people of this land will have to pay, and that "within five days. By the grace of God, I have here "provision of arms, and meat and food of all kinds, "and anything that is needed for a city's defence;

"and that you may better believe what I tell ye, let "your lord, the King, send two or three trusty men, "and let them come on my pledge that they shall "come and go safe and sound, and I will show them "the stores of provisions and the arms that I have "in this place; and should it not be as I have said, "let there be no agreement at all, and let my pro- "posal be rejected. Know further, that I do not "care for the towers you have overthrown; I have "no fear at all of your entering the city on that "side."

LXXVII.

And when Don Nuño heard the king's speech, he answered and said, "As to what you say, that "you have done no wrong to our king, you certainly "did do him wrong, when you took a ship belonging "to his realm with great store of merchandise, which "merchants carried in it. The King, my master, "sent you his message about it,[1] and prayed you

[1] Desclot (*Hist. de Cataluña*, f. 45) tells the story thus: "A "little after" (the unsuccessful attack on Peñiscola in 1225) "it "happened that two Catalan cor- "sairs, cruising in the Mediter- "ranean, came to Iviça, where "there were a galley and a trans- "port of the Moorish king of Mal- "lorca, loading ship timber; they "captured the transport and the "galley escaped to Mallorca. . . . "A few days afterwards a Barce- "lona ship arriving at Mallorca, "the King captured it, its cargo "and crew, and immediately sent "his galley to Iviça, where there "was another Barcelona ship, with "a valuable cargo for Ceuta, and "brought her to Mallorca. The "King of Aragon then sent to Mal- "lorca, demanding the two vessels. "The King of Mallorca called "together the Pisan, Genoese, and "Provençal merchants, of whom "there were many in the island,

"lovingly by a man of his household, named En "Jaques, and you answered him very fiercely and "harshly, asking, 'Who was that king that asked for "the ship?' The ambassador replied, 'that he was "'the son of the king who won the pitched battle "'of Ubeda.'[1] And thereupon you were offended "and asked 'what power the "'King of Aragon had, and if "'he should be afraid of him, "'or if it seemed to them better "'to give up the ships than to "'irritate him?' A Genoese, who "was very rich and experienced, "answered for all, that he 'need "'not fear the King of Aragon, nor "'his little and feeble power, since "'it was not enough to take the "'castle of Peñiscola, though so "'small, and besieged by him a "'long time; so it did not seem to "'them that he (the King of Mal-"'lorca) should give up anything "'of what he had taken, for no "'harm could come of keeping it.' "The reason of his giving such "bad advice (good for the King "of Aragon), was that the Catalans "might not be able to sail in those "seas, the kings being at war, and "they themselves might have the "field open to buy and sell their "merchandise everywhere. Rely-"ing on this advice, the King of "Mallorca had replied to the "King of Aragon's messenger, "that he would not give up the "ships, persons, and goods; he "of Aragon might do what he "could, for he did not fear his de-"fiance or his power. This answer "put King James in such anger, "that he swore before God not to "rest nor to deem himself a true "monarch till he had destroyed "the Moorish king, conquered him "by force of arms, seized his per-"son, and taken him by the beard "in insult and vengeance for his "ill behaviour and discourtesy."

Beuter, a chronicler of the sixteenth century (*Chron. de España*, lib. ii., f. 10), tells the incident thus, making no mention of any previous consultation of the Moorish king with the Italian merchants: he says that the Mallorcan "replied with great scorn: "'Who is this king, your master, "'who sends you here? I know no "'such king.' Then some Pisan "traders said, 'This is a king who "'went against Peñiscola, a castle "'in the kingdom of Valencia, and "'could not take it.' He (James's "envoy) made answer, and said: "'The King, my master, is son of "'the king who won the battle of "'Ubeda, and vanquished all the "'power of the Moors of Spain "'and Africa.'"

[1] The battle of Ubeda, or rather of Las Navas de Tolosa, was fought in 1212 by the combined forces of Castille, Aragon,

"with the ambassador, and much enraged at him,
"and told him that if he were not an ambassador, it
"had been ill for him that he said that. Whereupon
"the ambassador replied to you that he had come
"relying on your faith, and that you could do with
"him as you pleased. You must know (he said) the
"name of his lord; all the men in the world knew
"it, and knew how powerful among Christians he
"was, and how high; wherefore you should not say
"of him in scorn that you did not know his name. I
"say this to you, for the evil answer you made him.
"For the rest I reply to you that our lord, the King,
"is young, not more than twenty years old. This is
"the first great undertaking he has begun, and you
"must know that it is his heart and his will that
"for nothing in the world will he go hence till
"he have the kingdom and land of Mallorca; and
"if we should advise him to accept your proposals,
"we know for certain that he would never do it.
"You may now talk of something else; for what
"you propose is not worth talking about; that he
"would never do, nor would we advise him to it."

LXXVIII.

Thereupon the King of Mallorca said: "Since
"you will not take the terms I have proposed, I

and Navarre, against Abu Abdillah Mohammad, Sultan of Africa and Mohammedan Spain. Pedro II., James's father, was in it, and contributed most efficiently to the taking of Ubeda.

"will do this; I will give five besants[1] for every "head, man, woman, and child, and I will leave the "town on condition that you give us ships and "transports in which we may cross over to Barbary, "and let those who choose remain here." When Don Nuño heard what the King said, he returned to me in great glee. No one knew the news except he and the Alfaqui, who had acted as interpreter. He said in my ear that he would soon tell me good news. "Let me then (said I) send for the bishops "and the barons, that they may be present when "you announce the good tidings; since they are to "be made public sooner or later, it is better that you "should speak them out before everybody." Don Nuño thought that right; I sent for the councillors, and while they were coming he told us all that had passed.

When the councillors came, Don Nuño said how he had spoken with the King of Mallorca and what he had replied. He summed up by saying that the King would surrender the town, and would besides give for every person inside, man, woman, or child, five besants, and would make the delivery within five days, and that we should pass him over

[1] The besant was at this time, and up to the sixteenth century, worth three sols and four deniers of those of Barcelona, or about 1½ reales (forty centimes) at the present day. The city of Mallorca having then, according to Desclot, 80,000 inhabitants, that would make 650*l.* of our English money, no insignificant sum for the Amir of the Balearic islands to offer.

into Barbary, him and his family and all his household, men and women; the ships should put them on shore, and they would be content with that. The Count of Ampurias, who, as above stated, was with the army, would not come to the council: he was in a mine, and had declared that he would certainly not leave it till the town was taken, and therefore that he could not attend. There remained of the kindred of En P. de Muntcada En R. Alaman and En Gardu de Cerveyló, a son of En G. de Cerveyló and a nephew of En R. Alaman and En G. de Clarmunt; all these had a seat in the council. The Bishop of Barcelona was also one of them, as well as the Bishop of Gerona, the Provost of Tarragona, and the Abbot of Sant Ffeliu. All asked the Bishop of Barcelona to give his opinion. The Bishop answered and said, that they had suffered great loss in the island, so many noble and good men had been slain whilst serving God there, whose death ought to be revenged. That vengeance (he said) would be good and just, but he (the bishop) declined giving his opinion; the nobles and knights knew more of military affairs than he did; they had usage of arms and should speak first. Then they told Don Nuño to speak, and he spoke thus: "Barons, we have all come here to serve God and "our lord, the King, here present; he came here "and we with him to take Mallorca. It seems to "me that if our lord, the King, makes the treaty

"that the king of this island proposes, our master "will achieve that for which he came here. I will "say no more; I was the messenger of the news; "do you give your opinions on them." Thereupon spoke En Ramon Alaman, and said: "You, my "lord, crossed over here, and we with you, to serve "God, and you have lost here, slain in your "service, vassals than whom no king had better. "God has given you an opportunity for taking "vengeance for them, and in so doing you will "gain the whole land. But the King of Mal- "lorca has such skill and such knowledge of this "country that if he be allowed to pass into Bar- "bary nobody can tell what he is capable of "doing. What with what he can tell there, and "with the skill he undoubtedly has, he can bring "so many Saracens into this land that, though you "have gained it with the help of God and of us, "you will be unable to retain possession of the "island though you were able to take it. There- "fore, since you have your opportunity, avenge "yourself of them, and keep the land to yourself, "and then you need not fear Barbary." And En Guerau de Cerveyló and En G. de Clarmunt said with one voice: "My lord, we pray you for God's "sake to remember En G. de Muntcada, who loved "and served you so well, and En Remon, and the "other barons and knights who together with them "died in the field."

LXXIX.

And when I had heard their counsels I said : "As to the death of the nobles (*richs homens*) who "fell in battle I have nothing to say. What "God Almighty ordains has to be fulfilled ; but for "the rest, I can say that it was my design to come "to this land to serve God and conquer it. Our "Lord has granted my wish, since the proposal has "been made of giving me exactly what I came here "for, namely, to get the land and great wealth "besides. It seems to me as if it were really a "thing to accept. Though I have gained land and "riches, those who are dead have better reward than "myself; they have the glory of God. This ad- "vice I submit to you; let me know what your "opinion is." All the barons and bishops then said with one voice that it was far better to take the town by force, than to accept such a proposal. So I sent word to the King of Mallorca that his terms were rejected ; he might do what he could, we should do what we could. When the parley was over and the Saracens learned the resolution taken, they went away in consternation, and when the King of Mallorca saw them in that state he held a general council, and said to them in his Arabic :—

"Barons, you know well that the Miramamolin [1]

[1] Miramamolin is a corruption of Amira-l-mumenin, or "Prince of the true believers," the title assumed by the khalifs of Cor-

"has held this land more than a hundred years; it "was his pleasure that I should be your lord, and "it has been held despite of the Christians, who "never dared to attack it till now. Here we have our "wives, our children, and our kindred, and now "they bid us give up the land, so that we become "their slaves; and what is still worse than slavery, "they will search our women and our daughters and "see that they carry nothing away. And when we "all are in their power, they will do violence to "our women and daughters, and treat them at their "pleasure. I, who am here among you, rather "than bear so hard a thing against our law, I "would willingly lose my head; I desire to know of "you what seems fit to you under the circumstances, "and wish that you tell me your mind." All the people cried with one voice, that they would die rather than suffer such great shame. And the king said: "Then since I see you of so good "mind, let us think of well defending ourselves, "in such wise that one man be as good as two." Thereupon they separated, and went back to the walls, and one Saracen after that was better than two had been before.

LXXX.

And after a few days I said to Don Nuño: "Don "Nuño, it seems to me as if our barons were wishing

doba of the house of Umeyya, from Abde-r-rahman downwards, and after them by the Almowahedin or Almohades.

"that they had not given the counsel they did give "the other day; now perhaps they would listen to "a capitulation, whereas formerly they would not." And I said to those who had sat with me in council on the capitulation, "Think you not that it would "have been better to accept the terms offered, now "that the Saracens are defending themselves so "stoutly?" All were silent, and ashamed of what they had said, and at vespers there came to me two of those who had been of that opinion, the Bishop of Barcelona and En Ramon Alaman, and they said to me: "Why do you not accept the capitulation of the other day?" I said to them: "Would it not have been much better that you had "agreed to it then, than now come to me and say "that I should have accepted it? I now say to "you, that it does not behove me to move in this "affair, as it would be a sign of weakness. If the "Moors again propose the terms they offered the "other day, would you think it well to accept "them?" They replied: "Not only shall we "deem it rightly done, but will make those who "formerly opposed agree to it. If the Saracens send "again a proposal, and you think it acceptable, we "will agree, and act wholly on your opinion."[1] So we parted; but our Lord who upholds those who

[1] "E faerense les caues, mas "totes les desempararen a la der- "reria sino aquela que anaua "sobre terra, e en aquela metem "nostra punya tan fort que a "pesar dels se feu."

follow His paths, did not will that the enemy should again treat with us, and ordered things a better way. The thing happened thus, that just as the Saracens were strengthened by the word of the King of Mallorca, so it was God's will that the Christians themselves should be equally strengthened and encouraged, in proportion as the Saracens grew weaker. Though the mines and trenches were completed, all were given up, with the exception of one, into which we put so strong a force that it was finished in spite of them.

LXXXI.

Four days before the general assault on the city, the barons and the bishops agreed to hold a general council with me, and that in that council all should swear on the Holy Gospels and on the Cross that on entering Mallorca no noble, horseman, or foot-soldier should turn back, nor should he stop unless he had received a mortal wound. If a man received a mortal stroke, and no relative of his or soldier of the army was near him, he should put himself apart, or in a place to rest against; whilst all the rest should go forward entering the town by force, not turning head or body back; and that he who acted otherwise should be held as a traitor, like those who kill their Lord. I myself wished to take that oath, as the men were about to

do and actually did; but the barons forbade me to swear it. I nevertheless told them that I would act as if I had sworn it. When the oath was taken, the bishops and barons went aside with me, and one of my train, I do not recollect who he was, said: "Lords, if we do not do one thing we shall have "done nothing; for if the Saracens of the country "resolve on breaking the agreement they have "made with our lord, the king, and if peradven- "ture there enter into the city from the country "a thousand, or two, or three, or four, or five "thousand of them, it will not be so easy to take "Mallorca; for they have plenty of food inside, "and if their numbers are increased, they will "easily defend the city against us; wherefore I "would advise you to look closely that no one "gets into the city from the outside." And all with one voice said, that the knight gave good advice, and that it should be followed.

LXXXII.

Next day the lieutenants (*batles*), whom I had sent into the district of Mallorca, En Jaques and En Berenguer Durfort, came back, for they dared not remain longer there for fear of the Saracens. When the men saw them come, they said one to another, "The plan we have now agreed on is certainly better than it was before." I then proceeded to

establish three watches; the first for the engines and the lines of attack; another one opposite the gate of Barbolec[1] near the castle, which was entrusted to the Temple; the third against the gate of Portupi. Each guard or watch to consist of a hundred horsemen clad in armour. It was then between Christmas and New Year's Day, and so cold the weather that when men went outside of the camp, and marched a league or two, they immediately came back to their tents and huts on account of the cold, and had to send out scouts to watch for any coming to the camp. And one night I happened to send out people to report whether the sentinels I had placed were still at their post; I was told that they were not. Upon which I rose, scolded them for their ill behaviour, and put new sentinels taken from the followers of the barons and from my own household. This lasted for five consecutive days, during which I slept neither by day nor by night; if anything was wanted in the mines and in the approaches by which the town was to be entered they sent to me for it, as well as for advice as to what had to be done, as no one would do anything, however trifling, without consulting me.[2] And besides I had got from merchants in the camp sixty thousand

[1] Elsewhere "Bab-el-beled," باب البلاد, or the "gate of the fields."

[2] "Si que valent de xii diners "nuyl hom no volia fer en la ost "si a nos non demanassen."

"libres," to be repaid when the town was taken, wherewith to furnish things necessary for the army and for me; as I considered the town to be near capture. I was, therefore, awake for three consecutive days and three nights; for when I thought that I could sleep messages came from those who wanted directions, and even when I wished to sleep I could not, and was so wakeful that when any one came near the tent I heard him approach.

LXXXIII.

The night before the last day of the year came, and it was ordered through the camp that at dawn all should hear mass, take the Sacrament, and arm for battle. And in the first watch of that night Lop Xemeniç da Luziá came to my bed, called to me, and said: "My lord, I come from the mines; "I ordered two of my esquires to enter the town "and they have entered it; they saw many dead "lying in the streets, and found that there was no "Saracen on watch between the fifth and the sixth "towers. My advice is that you order the camp to "arms, for the town in my opinion is as good as "taken; there is no one to defend the place; a "thousand and more of our men can enter before a "single Saracen knows of it." I said: "Ah, my old "friend,[1] how can you give me such advice as to

[1] Don Veyl.

"enter a city by night, and by a dark night too! "Even by daylight men are often not ashamed of "behaving badly under arms; would you send them "thither by night when one man could not know "another? For if the soldiers enter the town "and are driven out, we shall never take Mallorca "afterwards." Don Lop saw that I spoke the truth, and admitted it.

LXXXIV.

At dawn orders were given for the men to hear mass and take the Sacrament. Having myself done the same, I bade all to arm, and each to take the arms he was to bear. And we all went out before the town, in the space between us and the enemy. At that time the day was becoming light; I went to the footmen, who were ranged before the knights, and said to them, "Ho, my men, go on in Our Lady's name!" Even for that no one stirred, and yet the knights heard it as well as the footmen. When I saw that the men did not stir, great care came on me, since they disobeyed my command. I turned myself to the Mother of God, and said: "Lo, Mother of our Lord God, I came here "that the Sacrifice of your Son might be celebrated "here; pray to him that we may not come to "shame, I and those who serve me in your name "and that of your dear Son." Again I called to

them, saying: "Up, my men, in God's name; why do ye delay?" And I said this three times, and then my men began to move on slowly. When all were in motion, the knights and the men-at-arms approached the breach in the walls, and then all the army with one voice began to call, "Saint Mary! Saint Mary!" Those words never left their mouths, and once pronounced they went on repeating them; the more they uttered the words the louder arose the cry, and they called it thirty times and more. When the armed horse had entered by the breach, the cry ceased, and by the time the passage was cleared for the horsemen there were fully five hundred footmen inside the city.[1] The king and all the force of Saracens in the city were pressing so sorely on the footmen who had got in, that had not the men-at-arms got in all would have been killed. And as the Saracens themselves afterwards told us, they saw a knight on horseback with white armour on enter first. My belief was that it must have been Saint George, for I find in history that in many other battles of Christians and Saracens he has frequently been seen. Of the knights, the first who entered was Johan Martinez Deslava, of my household; after him En Berenguer de Gurp; and after him a knight who was with Sire Guil-

[1] "E quan los caualls armats "començaren dentrar cessa la "uou: e quan fo feyt lo pas on "deuien entrar los caualls armats, "hauia ja be lains D. homens de "peu."

leumes, whose nickname was Soyrot,[1] an appellative given him in jest. After these three, Don Ferran Peris de Pina entered, but I do not remember who went in after. Each got in when and where he could, and there were besides in the army one hundred or more men who, had they been able to enter among the first, would certainly have done so.

LXXXV.

Meantime the King of Mallorca riding on a white steed came up. His name was Sheikh Abohehie;[2] and he called to his people "Roddo," —*Roddo* meaning "steady."[3] There were [in the breach] twenty or thirty Christian footmen with shields, and some men-at-arms among them. On the other side were the Saracens with their bucklers, and swords drawn on a line, but neither dared to close. When the knights with their armoured horses got in, they at once charged the

[1] The edition of 1557 has: "E "apres ell en Berenguer de Gurb "e prop en Berenguer de Gurb un "cavaller que anaba ab sire Guillen "qui hauia nom *Sirot*, e aquest "nom li havien mes per scarni." The copy used by the modern translators (Bofarull and Brocá) reads no doubt *Soyrot*, but neither reading helps me; I cannot explain the joke, unless *sirot* be meant for the diminutive of *sire*, which in French as well as in Catalonian is the equivalent of lord, master, &c.

[2] Retabohihe, in the edition of 1557. Shej Abu Yahye, شيخ ابو يحى, as has been said elsewhere, was the king's name.

[3] *Rodo*, رُدّوا, the imperative of *radda*, رَدَّ, which means "to stand "firm, to resist or repel the attack "of an enemy."

Saracens; but so great was the multitude of the latter, that their lances stopped the horses, and they reared up as they could not get through the thick ranks of the enemy. So they had to turn. And by turning back a little, more horsemen managed to enter the breach till there were forty or fifty of them; still horsemen and footmen with their shields were so mixed up, and so close to the Saracens, that they could strike one another with their swords, and no one dared put out his arm for fear the sword should reach his hand from the other side. Presently, however, there were from forty to fifty knights with their horses all clad in armour, and they went against the Saracens, and cried with one voice, "Help us, Saint Mary, Mother of our Lord!" And I cried, "Shame, knights!"[1] and so they attacked the Saracens, and drove them back.

LXXXVI.

When the Saracens of the town saw that the city was being conquered, full thirty thousand of them, men and women, went out through two gates, the gate of Berbelet[2] and the gate of Portupi, and took to the hills. And so great were

[1] "Vergonya, cavalers," meaning, "Beware of shame."

[2] Berbelet might well be a corruption from باب البلد, *beb-el-beled*, the gate of the country, or that leading outside the town.

the goods and booty that the knights and the footmen found inside the city, that they took no heed of those who went away. The last Saracen who left the breach was the King of Mallorca himself. As to the other Saracens, when they saw that the knights with their armoured horses had got within the breach, they hid themselves in the houses of the city, each as best he could: they did not hide themselves so well as that twenty thousand were not killed at the taking of the city. When we got to the gate of the Almudaina,[1] we found fully three hundred dead, against whom the others had closed the gate at their trying to get in; our Christians had come up, and killed them all. When our men got there, there was some resistance, but a Saracen, who knew our Romance tongue, said they would surrender the Almudaina if we gave men to protect them from death.

LXXXVII.

And while we were in this parley, there came to me two men of Tortosa, and said they wished to tell me something very important and of great advantage to us all. I went aside and heard them, and they said that they would put in

[1] Almudaina, *i.e.* the small city (citadel), comes from the Arabic المُدينة, the diminutive of "Medina."

my hands the King of Mallorca. And I said to them, "What do you ask for that service?" They said they wanted two thousand "libres." I said to them, "You ask too much; since the king is inside "the town, we must have him in the end; but to "insure his not being hurt, I would willingly give "a thousand 'libres.'" They said they were content with that. I left one of the nobles to command in my place, and gave orders that no one should attack the Almudaina till my return. I then sent for Don Nuño, and told him that I had found the King of Mallorca, and to come to me immediately. His answer was that he was delighted, and that he would come forthwith. Don Nuño came, and the men took us to the house where the king was. Don Nuño and I dismounted, clad in armour as we were, and went in. There was the king standing with three "exortins" (or men of his guard) by his side[1] armed with javelins. When we got near him he stood up in his white bornus; he wore besides a quilted coat under his cloak, and

[1] "Qui estaua al cap de la casa, "e stauan li iii. exortins denant "ab lur atzagayes." I suppose the word *exortins* to be derived from the Arabic word الشرطة, ex-xorta, meaning the body-guard of a king. *Sáhib-ex-xorta* was under the Umayya Khalifs of Cordoba, the "captain of the royal guard." The Spanish translators changed "exortins" into *exortiquins*, having, no doubt, found the word thus written in the two copies of the *Chronicle* preserved at Barcelona, but *exortins*, as above stated, can only be the plural of شُرطي, *xorti*, a guard with the article *Ax-xorti* or *Exorti*. As to *Atzagayes*, I believe it to be a Berber word, meaning a javelin or short spear.

under that a robe *(guardacors)* of white damite.[1] And I made one of the two men of Tortosa say to him in his Arabic, that I would leave him in charge of two knights of my train, and to have no fear, as he should not die, since he was in my power.[2] Thereon I left there some of my people to protect him, and went back to the gate of the

[1] In Spanish "albornoz," برنوس which, however, is not an Arabic, but a Berber word. "Et quant "fom prop dell lleuas ab sa capa "blanca e bernuz, pero vestia un "gonyio de ius un guardacors "que vestia de amit blanch." On the meaning of the word *gonyjo*, or *gonyo*, as elsewhere written, see note at page 24. *Amit*, from the Latin "amictus," might be the shirt or inner garment, unless the reading *samit* (samitum) be adopted, as the Spanish translators have done, in which case a thin silken cloth of Syrian manufacture is meant.

[2] Muntaner's Chronicle, cc. 7 and 8, after a very brief summary of the incidents of the siege of Mallorca, gives an account of the capture of the king as follows: "And "the lord king knew the Saracen "king, and by force of arms got "up to him, and took him by the "beard. And that he did be- "cause he had sworn, that he "would never depart from that "place till he had taken the Sara- "cen king by the beard. And he "wished thus to make good his "oath. That oath the said lord "king made, because the said "Saracen king had thrown into "the camp from trebuchets, "Christian captives; wherefore "it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ, "that he should take vengeance "for it." On comparing this story, which is known to have been written about fifty years after the king's death, with that which is given in the text, it will be seen that it shows the natural growth of fable and the influence of a love of the marvellous, in such times; and furnishes a strong presumption that the simple narrative given in the king's name was really of his time, and furnished by a witness on the spot. I may add that Desclot, writing thirty or forty years before Muntaner, says simply (cap. xxxiv.) that "some Tortosa men gave up "to him" (James) "the Moorish "king, whom they found in a "courtyard; the king handed him "to the Count Don Nuño." However this may be, to "seize a man by the beard" or "beard a man" was considered in the middle ages the greatest affront that could be made.

Almudaina, and told them to give me hostages, and come out to the old wall, and parley with us. They then brought out the son of the King of Mallorca, a lad about thirteen years old,[1] and said he was the pledge they gave us; they would open the gate, but we ought to look well whom we put at it as guard. To protect the king's house and treasury, as well as guard the Almudaina, and those who were inside, I appointed two Dominican friars, escorted by ten knights, all good and prudent men; for I was wearied out, and wanted to go to sleep. The sun was already set.

LXXXVIII.

Next morning I examined the state of things, to put matters in order. Lo! our Lord had so dealt with us, that every man in the army found so much spoil that no one had occasion to quarrel with his neighbour; each thought he was better off than his comrade. Don Ladró, a noble of my train, then invited me, saying that one of his men had told him of a good house, with every accommodation; he had had cooked some good beef, and I might be housed there, if I chose. I told him

[1] James had him brought up at his court, under the tutorship of a Dominican friar, who converted him to Christianity, the king himself acting as godfather at the baptism. Later on he married him to a lady of the house of Alagon, and gave him the *baronias* or baronetages of Illueca and Gotor.

that I thanked him much, and would go to it. When day came, all the men of my household went away, not one came back for eight days; each held to what he had taken in the city, and was so pleased with it that not one would return.

LXXXIX.

After the taking of the city, the bishops and barons met, and said they wanted to speak with me. There should be a sale by auction, they suggested, of all the Moors taken, and of the goods, and of everything. I said that I did not approve of that, because the auction would last a long time, and it would be better, while fear was on the Saracens, to conquer the hill country, and then quietly divide the booty. They asked me how I intended to divide the booty? "By gangs "or troops,[1] (said I); the Saracens and all their "property will be so divided that the army will "be content." That could well be done in eight days; after that we could go against the Saracens outside, and conquer them, and keep their goods till the galleys came to fetch them; that would be the best to do. But En Nuño, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the Sacristan [of Tarragona], wanted the sale by auction above all things; they acted together so

[1] *Per cadrelles.* The word *cadrelles* in Castillian "*quadrillas.*"

that they made every one else partake of their opinion, for they were craftier than the rest of the army, who did not see their intention. I said to them: "Look here; the auction you speak of will "not be an auction, but a cheating transaction,[1] and "besides a blunder; I fear it will delay us so much "that the Saracens will fortify themselves, and then "we shall not conquer them so easily as we could "now; if we give them time to recover, God "knows what may happen." But the barons persisted, and adhered to their plan, saying it was a better one. I yielded, and said, "May it please God! but you will repent it."

XC.

The auction commenced; it began in the Carnival and lasted till Easter. And while the auction was going on, the knights and the common people expected each to have their share; every man bought something, but would not pay for it. The knights then joined the common people, and said all over the town, "This is wrong, this is wrong!" Then they put themselves in motion, and cried with one voice, "Let us sack Gil Dalagó's house." They went and sacked it. When I arrived

[1] A kind of pun; "aquest *encant* no sera *encant*, que *engan* sera;" *encant* meaning a sale by auction, and *engan* a mistake, an imposition, falsehood, fraud, &c.

on the spot the mischief had been done; I could not help it. I said to them: "Who ordered you to sack "the house of any one, where I am residing, before "laying a complaint against him?" They answered, "My lord, each of us deserves his share of the "prize; others have had it, we have not; we are "dying of hunger here, and would go back home "to our people; that is the reason of our doing "this." I said to them, "Good men, you have "done wrong, and will be sorry for it; do it not "again, for we will not allow it. Much worse "would it be for you were I to call you to judg- "ment for your misdemeanour; you would suffer "grievously, and I should have to lament the evils "that fell on you."

XCI.

Two days after this they rose again, and raised the cry, "To the Provost of Tarragona's, and let us sack his house!" The men went thither, and plundered the house as they had plundered that of Gil Dalagó, and took away all the good things he had in it; so that nothing was left but two horses he rode, which happened to be in our quarters. Then the nobles and the bishops came to us; and I said to them: "Barons, this is "not to be borne; I might submit to such things "till not one of you would remain alive, or not

"plundered of what you have. But I will give "you a piece of advice; let us keep ourselves in "readiness, and when next they begin with their "sacking let us arm ourselves and our horses, and "fall on the delinquents in the square, where there "is no barricade or chain, and hang twenty of those "we find at this sort of mischief. If we do not "succeed in capturing any at it, let us take the first "we find in the streets, and hang them as a warning "for the others. Unless we do that, we shall "be all of us in great trouble. Let us move our "share of the prize from the Almudaina to the "Temple, and put our followers there, and make "a stand in it." Then I addressed the people of the town, and said to them: "Good men, you have "begun the newest work that ever was, such as "plundering houses, and especially of those who "have done you no wrong, neither much nor little; "I would have you know that henceforth it will not "be borne; I will first hang so many of you in the "streets that the town will stink of them. I, and "the barons, who are here, desire that you should "have your share, as well of the goods as of the "lands." When they heard those good words I uttered, they came to their senses, and stopped the mischief they had begun; but I did not give courage to the Bishops and to the Provost so that they dared leave the Almudaina in all that day, till the people were pacified; and I told them that

I would make a reckoning, and give them their share. At night, when the people were quiet, they went away, each one to his house.

XCII.

When Easter was over, Don Nuño fitted out a ship and two galleys to cruise on the coast of Barbary. And while he was fitting out the ship, En G. de Clarmont fell ill, and in eight days from the beginning of his illness he died. At his burial, En R. Alaman fell ill, and Don Garcia Perez de Meytats, who was of Aragon, and a man of good descent and one of my household, and in eight days both were dead. And when both these were dead, En Garau de Cerveyló, son of En G. de Cerveyló, elder brother of En R. Alaman, also fell ill, and eight days after he died. And Count de Ampurias, when he saw the death of those three, said that all those of the house of Muntcada had to die, and he was ill only eight days, and at the end of that time he likewise died. All four were barons, and great men in Catalonia, and they died within a month. The mortality among such great men of the army grieved me much. Don Pero Corneyl said he would go to Aragon, and that if I gave him one hundred thousand sols he would bring me one hundred and fifty knights, that

is, one hundred for the money received, and fifty for the "honor" or fief he held of me. I gave him the money, and besides, a passage free to Aragon.

XCIII.

It had been agreed with Don Nuño, who remained with me and with the Bishop of Barcelona, that as those knights, En Guillen and En Remon de Muntcada, and the nobles already named, were dead, I should send letters to Don Atho de Foces and to Don Rodrigo de Liçana in Aragon summoning them to do service for the honours and fiefs they held of me. I sent accordingly for them, and they wrote letters saying that they would come with good will. While they were making ready to come, I determined to make an expedition ; the Saracens had got into the mountains of Soller, Almerug, and Bayalbahar, the whole of which they held ; they moreover kept the Christians back as far as Pollença. I left Mallorca, and went along a valley called Bunyola with what knights and footmen I could collect,—for the greater part were already gone, some to Catalonia, others to Aragon. I therefore set on the expedition with those I could get, passing by a castle called Alaró, close to the mountain range, and the strongest in all the island on the right-hand side.

When I had got on the mountain, the leader of the van sent word to say that the footmen would

not take up quarters where he had ordered them, but were decidedly going towards Incha.[1] I then left the rearguard in charge of En Guillen de Muntcada, son of En R. de Muntcada, intending to overtake and stop them. When I got up the mountain, I saw the men below going towards a farm called Incha, but I dared not leave the company, for the Moors had captured two or three beasts of burthen (asembles) from us. I went with all speed to the rearguard, followed by three knights who were then with me, but when I got there the rearguard had already attacked and driven the Saracens over a slope there, and recovered the beasts.

XCIV.

When I arrived on the spot I found that the men were already on the march, and that six hundred Saracens, or more, were watching from a hill for an opportunity of hurting them. Indeed they had already attacked the moment they saw the vanguard separate from the rear. All of us in a body went to the place where we intended taking up quarters, and there consulted as to what we should do. En G. de Muntcada, the son of En Remon, Don Nuño, and Don P. Corneyl, who had come back, besides other knights well skilled in arms, told me that it would

[1] Inca, eighteen miles N.E. of Palma, as the capital of Mallorca is called now-a-days.

not be wise to take up quarters so near the enemy, for they were fully three thousand, and the mules and the greater part of the convoy and the footmen had all gone off, so that it would not be prudent to remain where we were. I therefore determined to go that very night to Incha. I put such of the mules and beasts of burthen in front as remained, and when they were down below, at the botton of the hill, I descended slowly and gently. There were not in the whole rearguard at the time forty knights. When the Saracens saw that I marshalled my men so well, they dared not come against me, and we went to quarters in Incha, which is the largest farm and village in the island, and returned thence to Mallorca.

XCV.

On our return to the city the Master of the Hospital, En Huch de Fuylalquier came to me, followed by fifteen of his brethren ; he was not at the taking of Mallorca, but when he heard of it he came with fifteen knights of his order. I had made this En Huch de Fuylalquier master of the Hospital in my dominions, after asking leave of the Grand Master beyond the seas. He was a man whom I loved much, and he loved me. When he came he said he wished to speak to me in the presence of his brethren only, and he prayed me very

earnestly, by the love I had for him and the faith he himself had in me, to consent ourselves, and procure of the bishops and the nobles, that the Hospital should have its share in the island, urging that the Order would be shamed for ever that in so good a feat as that of taking Mallorca it had had no participation; "for (said he), you who have been "our lord, and you are the king to whom God "has given to take this island; should the Hospital "have no part in it, people will hereafter say, the "Hospital and the Master took no part in that "great feat of arms at Mallorca, which the King of "Aragon accomplished by the grace of God, and we "ourselves should be dead and shamed for ever." My answer was that he would very soon know that I had ever loved and honoured both him and his Order, and that I would do that which he asked for willingly and gladly, as it pleased us much. But that it would be the hardest thing I ever had to do, for the land and the goods were already divided; many of those who had got their shares had gone away, otherwise it were easy to do, "but for all that, I said, "I will not fail to help you, so that you shall depart from me content."

XCVI.

I got together the Bishop of Barcelona, Don Nuño, En Guillen de Muntcada, and as many as I

could of the councillors remaining in the island, and entreated them very earnestly to give the Master a a share of what we had gained thereat. I found them very hard on this point; they said to me, "How can that be? for all is already divided. To "take away what is already divided is not a thing "that can be done, especially as the barons who had "their share, have gone away and are no longer "here." I said, "Barons, I know of a way to let the Master and his Order have what they want." What is the way? said they. "I myself have half the "land as my own; I will give them out of my share "a good and honourable farm. Here is Remon de "Ampurias who knows well what the shares of each "of you are; I would not take away from you or "the others what has fallen to your lot, but each "man could proportionally give some small portion "of his share, and with that and the farm that I "am ready to give the Master he will have a suit-"able share. So if it please you, let us make this "arrangement, for it is not well to offend such a man "and such an Order as his, but to content their "desire. As to me, it will not matter what I give "up." These words of mine had the desired effect, for the councillors said: "Since you wish for that, so let it be; we will do as you desire."

XCVII.

I then sent for the Master of the Hospital, and as the barons said that I was to speak for all, I said to him: "Master, you came here to serve, first God, "then me, in the conquest we have made. Know "now, that I and the nobles are willing to do what "you have asked of me; yet this is our difficulty, "the division has been made, and the greater part "of those who have had shares have gone home; "but for all that, we will give you your share as for "thirty knights, and we will have it entered in the "book with the others, and will give you besides a "good and honourable farm—of my own. The "others, however, cannot give you a farm, but will "give you instead a proportionate share of the "lands, each of them has had of the spoil as much as "the share of thirty knights. In so doing I do you "as great an honour, give you as good a portion, "as the knights of the Temple had who were here "with me." Whereupon the Master stood up with his knights and wished to kiss my hand; I would not let him do it, only the other brethren. After this they said: "My lord, since you have done so "great a favour to the Master and to the Hospital "and to ourselves, we pray you to give us also part "of the goods gained, and houses in which to "live?" Then I turned to the barons laughing,

and said: "What do you think of this fresh "petition of the Master and Brethren?" "My "lord," said they, "that cannot be done; those "among us who have got money and goods will "certainly not give them up; as for the houses, it "is proper that they should have them, or at least "ground on which to build them." "If I find a "way for that," said I, "and it cost you nothing, will "you agree?" They all assented. "Let us give "them then the navy yard; there are already "walls there, and they can build good houses in- "side; and for goods, I will make them a present of "the four galleys which were once the King of "Mallorca's, and now belong to me, so that they "will have a share of everything." The Master and the Brethren were very glad, and kissed my hands, the Brethren themselves weeping profusely, whilst the Bishop and the Barons were pleased at the good arrangement I had made.

XCVIII.

With Don Nuño, the Bishop of Barcelona, and Don Exemen Dorrea, again with me in the island, I sallied out one day against the Saracens in the hills. When I reached Incha (Inca), the Master of the Hospital was with me. I sent for the barons and knights to take counsel with them, as well as for those who knew the ways into the country.

The opinion of Don Nuño, Don Exemen Dorrea (de Vrrea), and the Master of the Hospital, was, that with the force under my command it would not be wise to go into the hills, for in the hills of Soller Dalmerug, and Bonalbahar,[1] where I intended to go, there were fully three thousand fighting Moors. Their chief was Xuaip (or Xuarp), a native of Xurert, who had with him twenty or thirty mounted men. Their advice was that I should not go into the hills, for I should run great risks of losing myself and those with me. I acknowledged that their advice was the best, and I followed it; but it grieved me much that I could not do what I had intended.

XCIX.

When the barons were gone, and each had returned to his quarters, I sent for the guides, and spoke apart with them. There was no one but me with them: and I said: "I command you "as my born subjects to tell me the truth on what "I will ask; do any of you know of any Saracens "in any other part of Mallorca than in this range "of hills? those other hills that I see from this "seem to me very high, and I wish to know if "any of you have ever been across?" And one of them said: "I was once there in a raid not more

[1] Probably Bayalbahar, as at p. 181.

"than eight days ago; we thought we should "capture some Saracens in a cave in the hills "you see, and when we thought we were about "to take them, full sixty armed Saracens sallied "out to protect them, and received them in the "cave." When I heard that, I was greatly pleased, and sent at once for Don Nuño, the Master of the Temple, Don Exemen Dorrea, and other knights skilled in arms, who followed me on this expedition, and said to them: "I have found a way that will "not make it necessary for us to return to the city "of Mallorca so discomforted as we might be by "the people saying that we went not on a raid "among the hills and had accomplished nothing; "which would be tantamount to going back in "shame." They asked what way had I found out. I said: "Here is one of the scouts, who will show "us a good troop of Saracens, which he left not "eight days ago, and they are in the part of the "mountain I will show you, in the Dartana country." They said: "So may God help us; that seems a very good thing for us to do." The scout came and told us how he had found the Saracens, and where they might probably be at the time.

C.

It was agreed that early in the morning we should pack up our tents and baggage, and go thither, but that we should send light troops to

engage them first, and prevent their escaping before we got to the spot. As was intended, so it was done. We got there at vespers, when our forerunners came to me and said: "You have not "far to seek, for we have already had to deal "with them, and there they are." Indeed, the Saracens were then lighting signal fires on that side of the hills where the larger party was. Our mules were worn out by the heat, and quartered by a river at the bottom of the hill. It was agreed that at early dawn we would arm ourselves and our horses; there might be with me at the time thirty-five men-at-arms, and no more. The men were to attack the rock, and keep the Saracens at bay, when I would determine what to do. And so it was done, and the men-at-arms fought the Saracens at the entrance of the cave. So steep was the mountain, and so high, that it formed a sort of peak, from which the rock projected. Caves [1] were hewn in the middle of the rock, so that no stone from above could reach the caves and do harm to the Saracens,[2] and yet some of our

[1] Those of Artá, in the north-eastern part of the island. The principal of them, La Cueva de la Ermita, on the coast, is a profound natural excavation, replete with the most curious crystallizations.

[2] It will be observed that the words *Saracens* and *Moors* are here indistinctly applied to designate the inhabitants of Mallorca, and yet their meaning is different. *Saracens*, from the Arabic شرقيين, *Xarquin*, means people from the Xarq (in Spanish *axarquia*) or the East, whereas *Moros* (from *Mauri*) means the people of Mauritania, or the West.

projectiles could reach the huts they had built about. Thus, when our people fought with the Saracens, and had to come out to defend themselves, some stones thrown by our men did hurt them. That lasted a good long time, a fine sight for those who saw the fight.

CI.

Then Don Nuño said: "My lord, why do you "and we stay here? All we do is in vain; the "stones we throw from above can do no harm to "the Moors; nothing can be done against them "from below. It is midday; were it not better "for us to go down? You are fasting, for it is "a fast day; you should go down, eat your dinner, "and then consider what had best be done."[1] And I said to Don Nuño: "On your faith! do not "grow impatient and faint-hearted; we will yet "get at the Moors." The Master of the Hospital then said; "Don Nuño, it seems to me as if the "king spoke truth and reason to you; but do as "you say, let the king and you go and eat, and "afterwards send some of your men here, and we "will consider what to do." "The Master says well." said I. Don Nuño assented, and we went down.

[1] "E es be mig dia, e seria bo queus en deuallassets que dia es de dijuni, e menjarriets, e puis acordar vosets com ho deuriets fer."

CII.

While we were having our dinner, the Master strung his beasts of burthen together, tying one to the other; a man was then attached by a good cord to the end of the train, with lighted wood in a pan, and lowered with the fire gently down. When the man reached the huts, he set fire to one; the wind blew hard at the time, and the fire spread from one hut to another; in this manner full twenty of them were burnt, and I was very glad to see the fire as I was eating. The Master then summoned the Moors to surrender, as otherwise they were all dead men. They said they would agree to this, that, counting from the morning of the next day, Saint Lazarus in Lent, if in eight days the Moors in the hills did not succour them, and cause the siege to be raised, they would surrender themselves, but not as prisoners,[1] and also the stronghold and all there was in it. The Master came to me with that proposal, and said to me before I replied, "Do not "accept it, unless they surrender as prisoners; they "are at the last gasp: the wretches are done for." Accordingly, I agreed that that should be the answer. The Master went up again, and the Moors

[1] Catius: meaning no doubt that they were to be allowed to depart as free men.

at last agreed to surrender as prisoners unless those in the hills succoured them within eight days. The eighth day was Palm Sunday; they gave us as hostages the sons of the ten most important people in the caves, and I stayed there waiting for the day to come; but the little bread we had with us lasted for two days less than was thought, on the last of which Don Nuño and I passed with only seven loaves for one hundred men we had to feed. The army itself had no bread except the wheat they took from the farms of the Saracens, which they roasted and ate; they came to ask me if they might eat meat, and I gave them leave to eat it.

CIII.

Meanwhile Don Pedro Maça made a raid with his own men and with men from the army, and almugavers.[1] He found a cave, inside which were many Saracens; he sent to me for cross-bows, arrows, and picks, which I gave him; they fought for two days, and captured five hundred of the enemy. When Palm Sunday came, at sunrise I sent word to the Saracens in the caves that they should keep the agreement

[1] Almogavares, an Arabic word meaning *raider*, one who makes raids, is applied to a formidable class of light-armed soldiers, who gained a terrible name for themselves in Sicily and the East under the next kings of Aragon.

they had made with us. They answered that it was not yet tierce, and that they would wait till then. I agreed to that, but said that they should at once get ready and come down. They accordingly equipped themselves and packed up their apparel, leaving behind a good deal of wheat and barley. And at half tierce (*about ten o'clock*) they actually began to come down from the cave, and fifteen hundred came out. There were in the cave no less than two thousand Saracens, the train of them was fully a league long, and we captured fully ten thousand cows and thirty thousand sheep, so we entered the city of Mallorca joyful and contented.

CIV.

A message came then from Aragon to the effect that Don Athó de Foces and Don Rodrigo Liçana were coming to us, and I was very glad to hear of it, because we had very few people. Don Rodrigo Liçana chartered a transport, one of those which had brought us to Mallorca, and two other vessels to carry stores. The transport was fit to carry horses; the other vessels carried his stores, and in this way we reached Pollença. Don Rodrigo brought thirty knights well provided with all necessary arms and stores. Don Athó de Foces, moreover, hired a "cocha"[1] from Bayonne. When at sea

[1] Cocha, and Cocca, a kind of ship.

the "cocha" made a great deal of water, so that at two or three places they caught the water in little pans; they caulked the holes as well as they could with tow, and the crew endeavoured to reach land either in Catalonia or Mallorca. And this "cocha," (ship) in which Don Athó de Foces and Don Blasco Maça and their companies of knights were coming, had to return through stress of weather to Tarragona, for the wind drove them there; they thought they would all perish, for the "cocha" (ship) made a good deal of water and was old, so that they had hardly got their baggage and horses out when she foundered and went down in the sea.

CV.

And when I had spent all that summer in Mallorca, there came En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Lord of Torroela, and I prayed him, as I had been in Mallorca a long time since it was taken, and wished to go to Catalonia, that he should remain instead of me in Mallorca, and that I would advise the knights and all others to do for him as they would do for myself. En Berenguer said that he would willingly do that; but he prayed me that, in order that the people might know that he was loved by me, I would give him Pals, a castle near Torroela[1] and Palafragel, for his life;

[1] Torroella de Montgré, in Catalonia.

people might then understand that I loved him. This I granted; the love I showed him was of more price than the gift, for the place was not worth much. When I had done that, I signed an engagement to pay him what he might spend in his stay in Mallorca. I then assembled a general council, that is, all the knights and settlers who were in Mallorca, and spoke thus to them: "Barons, "I have been here fourteen months, without ever "leaving you; winter is now coming on; it seems "to me that the country has nothing to fear, thank "God, and I wish to leave; I can better send "you directions than give them here; I can at "any time send you reinforcements to defend the "islands, or come in person if need be. Believe, "on my faith, that at any season, by day or night, "the best part of my thoughts will be with you. "And since God has done me such grace, and "given me such a kingdom in the sea as no King "of Spain was able to conquer, and I have built "here a church to Our Lady Saint Mary, besides "other churches, be sure I will never desert you, "but will think of you, and help you if necessary." I wept, and they took leave of me. And when it had been a while that I and they could not speak for grief, I told them that I would leave them for commander En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, for whom they should do what they would do for myself; and I ended by saying that if ever they

heard of a fleet coming from any quarter against them, they should let me know, and I would come to their aid in person.

CVI.

Thereupon I departed, and they had to bear my departure, which, as it happened, was best for them and for me too. There were two galleys in the port, one of En Remon de Canet, and the other of Tarragona. I left behind the horses and arms, in case those who stayed had need of them, and went to Palomera on board the galleys; I was in that of En Remon de Canet, one of the best in the world, and some of my suite went in the other. And on Saint Simon and Jude's day we put to sea, and were all that day and all night and another day, and at midnight of the third day we got to Porrassa, between Tamarit and Tarragona, with very fine weather. I there found En Remon de Plegamans,[1] who saluted me, and kissed my hand, and then burst into tears for great joy. He knew of the agreement that had been made between me and the King of Leon, who had promised to give me his kingdom, and his daughter to wife, and behold the King of Leon, Plagamans said,

[1] En Remon Guillen Marimon de Plegamans (de Plicamanibus), the same rich citizen of Barcelona who contracted to provision the fleet for the conquest of Mallorca.

was dead.[1] I asked him if he knew that for certain. He said that men of Castille had come to Barcelona who said so. When I heard that news it grieved me much ; but nevertheless I comforted myself, for the conquest of Mallorca was of more esteem with me than the gain of the kingdom of Leon would have been ; and as it was not the will of God, I did not concern myself with what He did not will. And I slept there till daybreak.

CVII.

And when day broke I went on board the galleys, and entered the harbour or roadstead of Tarragona. The people of the town received me joyfully, men and women, with sundry flags. After I had eaten, and the men and the sailors had got all things out of the galleys, a south-west wind suddenly sprang up ; so strong was it that it wrecked the two galleys in their anchorage before the port, in front of the church built by Archbishop En Esparech, called Saint Michael's. Three men had remained in each of the galleys ; four of them were drowned and two escaped. And in this Our Lord showed a great miracle.

After my stay at Tarragona I went to Montblanch and Lerida, and thence into Aragon. If

[1] Alfonso IX. the father of St. Ferdinand, died in 1214.

any men in the world could receive their Lord well, with great manifestations of joy and pleasure, certainly my subjects in those places did it, greeting me wherever I passed, and thanking God for all the good He had done me.

CVIII.

After passing that winter in Aragon I returned to Catalonia, where news came to me, at Barcelona, that the King of Tunis was going to cross to Mallorca, and was getting ready, and capturing ships and men of the Pisans and Genoese. Thereupon I asked counsel of the barons who were with me at this time, and of the Town Councillors of Barcelona, as to how I should act on the news that had come. They said it would be well to know the thing more certainly than it was known; men often told things from remote lands that were untrue. And owing to some dispute En G. de Muntcada had with the men of Vich,[1] I had to go there to settle it. When I had been one day in the place there came, at nearly half tierce, a messenger sent by En R. de Plagamans, who had travelled all night, and said that certain news had come to Barcelona that the King of Tunis was to be soon in Mallorca. When I heard that, I was as distressed as man could be, for fear of

[1] Vich is about fifty miles from Barcelona.

the disaster that might happen to my people on the island.

I took a little dinner, and rode without stopping, and at vespers was at Barcelona, having made a long day's work, and I rested that night. And at morning I rode to the coast to hear news, and saw a sail coming, and waited for it, and as it was fair weather it soon arrived. It was a vessel from Mallorca. A man landed first in a boat; I asked him what news he brought from Mallorca. And he stood before me, all pale, and said, "My "lord, I believe the King of Tunis may be already "there." And I said, "Bad news do you bring, "man; but yet I trust in God that I will get there "before him." And I went to Tarragona on the day we had fixed, and as to the advice they had given me at Barcelona I said, "It does not seem "to me as if that was good counsel for me or for "the land, for it was Our Lord's will that I should "do the best thing that any one has done for a "hundred years when He made me take Mallorca; "and since God has given it to me, I will not lose "it through sloth or cowardice, and I will certainly "be there to succour it. This is my counsel, that "a day be appointed for those who went with me "to conquer Mallorca, and letters be sent to Aragon "to those who hold lands in feu of me, and to "those of my own train (*meynada*) to come to my "help with what they have or can get, to be

"with me within three weeks at the port of "Salou; for certainly it would be better for me "to meet death in Mallorca than to lose that "island by my default. And know that I will on "no account lose that island; God and man shall "know that nothing will be wanting in me to "defend it." And in that same manner I said did I do.

CIX.

I was at Tarragona on the appointed day, and indeed before it, and set about chartering ships and transports (*tarides*), besides a galley in which I myself went, to get news of the Saracens if they were already at Mallorca. The ships and the transports (*tarides*) were fitted for carrying three hundred knights; two hundred and fifty came, and with fifty more who were collected there (*at Tarragona*), the number of three hundred was completed. And before I made the passage there came to me the Bishop of Tarragona, who was of the family of La Barca and my own relation, and En G. de Cervera, a monk of Poblet, and they prayed of me for God's sake and on their duty to me, and for the good counsel they gave me, not to adventure my own person, but send on the knights there assembled for the passage, and Don Nuño as their captain. They besides took to

weeping as bitterly as they could, and I myself was seized with grief at their weeping. I answered them in this wise, and said, that for nothing in the world would I desist from passing over. They strove much, throwing their arms round me to prevent my departing; but I broke from them, and departed and went to Salou.

I had some time before exchanged the domain of Mallorca with the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal, and had once or twice sent him messages to the effect that he was bound to succour the island of Mallorca as soon as possible. He had answered fairly, but had done nothing towards relieving the island.[1]

[1] Don Pedro was a son of the King of Portugal, Sancho I., and of his Queen, Dulce, daughter of Petronila of Aragon and Ramon Berenguer of Catalonia; he was thus brother of King Alfonso II. of Portugal, and grand-uncle of King James. On the accession to the crown of Portugal of his brother Alfonso II., in 1211, he (Don Pedro) and another brother, Ferdinand, left the country; which in 1212 they invaded, with the army of Alfonso IX. of Leon, in a campaign seemingly intended to assist the great invasion of the Peninsula that year by the Sultan of Morocco! He was some time in Morocco itself, whence he sent to Portugal the relics of "the Martyrs of Morocco," (whoever they may have been). Then he returned to Leon, ultimately going to Aragon, where his kindred with King James procured for him a splendid marriage with Aurembiax, Countess in her own right of Urgel, on whose death, childless, in 1231, he was left lord of her great possessions. Desirous of incorporating her estates with those of the crown, James in the same year exchanged with him for them the kingdoms of Mallorca and Minorca, to be held by him for life *in feudum et consuetudinem Barchinonæ et faciatis inde nobis homagium*. After his death, his successors were to hold on the same terms "one third of them;" and the king was presently to hold three fortresses then considered the keys of the island, the Almudayna in the city of Mallorca,

CX.

And just at midnight when I had given orders for the galley and the other vessels to weigh anchor and go along the land, Don Nuño came to the sea shore, and shouted, "Galley ahoy!"[1] The men of my galley answered, "What is the matter?" Then they said, "Don Nuño begs you to wait a "little; the Infante of Portugal is here, and wants "to speak with you." I wished very much to go on; but since the Infante was there, I thought I would see him, without, however, desisting on his account, whatever he might say, from the undertaking. Presently I saw the Infante; he and Don Nuño came in a boat; he ascended the galley; and I asked him what he wanted? The Infante said that he had come to cross over into Mallorca. "How many knights have you here with you?" He said, "There are four or five here; the rest are coming." I said, "So help me God, you come

Pollença, and Aloro. In 1244 Don Pedro returned this grant to the King, receiving in exchange many important towns and castles in Valencia; ten years afterwards, he gave these up for 39,000 *sueldos* annually, and some dominion again in Mallorca: (possibly the revenues of the city only.) Don Pedro presently found his way back into Portugal, where he was living in 1256; but the later history and the year of the death of this restless and unsuccessful prince are unknown.—*Hist. Sesa de Mallorca*, I. pp. 412 and 428. Herculano, *Hist. de Portugal*, II. pp. 87 and 148. *Monarchia Lusitana*, *lib.* 12 c. 21, *lib.* 13, c. 5, *lib.* 15, c, 4. Said by Lemos, *Hist. de Portugal*, t. iii. p. 171, to have been born in 1187, and who died in 1258.

[1] Oy de la galea.

"not well equipped for the passage; but here are "my ships and my transports going to-morrow in "the morning; if you choose to come on board you "are welcome; I will go in any case. I must "know if the King of Tunis, or his army, is really "in Mallorca." Thereupon the Infante said that he would remain in the galley with one knight and one esquire, and that Don Nuño should undertake to send on the others; an undertaking I thought easy enough, for beyond the four knights of whom he spoke, the Infante of Portugal brought no more with him, and no more came afterwards. Don Nuño then left the galley and went on shore, and he (the Infante) remained with me.

CXI.

We weighed anchor, took to the oars, and went out to sea.[1] By sail and oars we got at noon of the second day to Soller, where we found a Genoese ship at anchor. When they saw us coming in, they were frightened beyond measure, but when they saw my flag they knew that the galley was mine; the sailors threw themselves into a fishing-boat, and came to us. I asked, "Good men, what news from Mallorca?" They said, "Good news." I then inquired if the fleet of the King of Tunis had come; they answered that there were no strangers

[1] Al pelech, from the Greek sea language.

in the island. I was very glad at the good news they had told us. They brought fowls; and I sent two men of the ship to Mallorca to let them know that I was at Soller. They came out to receive us with great joy, and brought full fifty beasts saddled for us to ride on and enter the town of Mallorca.

CXII.

The galley rowed into the port of Mallorca, and I entered the town. And those whom I had left there told me, well did it appear that I had in good remembrance them and the honour that God had done me in conquering the kingdom; and they could not keep from weeping with joy at my having come. The third day after I came to Mallorca, all the transports and knights came in in good order and without harm. I then considered what was to be done in case of the Saracens coming, and resolved that I would put out scouts, to let me know in the town before they came [to land]. And I told my people that I would show them the way to defeat the Saracens; that, wherever they might direct their ships, I, with the knights and other men fit for battle, would not go down there to the sea, but into ambush on the very road they must necessarily take. I would send against them horsemen without armoured horses, and footmen with them, up to two thousand; these would seem to oppose the landing

of the Saracens, and when a great part of them had landed should begin to fly towards my ambush, so as to allure them to follow, thinking there were only those horsemen and footmen, and so would they fall into my ambush. Then I would attack the enemy with the armoured horse and with the men in reserve, besides the two thousand. These and the other horsemen, who had led them into the ambush, would then return to me, and so till they reached the sea I would not cease striking at them. When those in the ships saw that the first landed were defeated and dead, they would not dare to land for the hurt their people had taken. I accordingly kept scouts over all the island for full fifteen days, to light fire signals if the fleet of the King of Tunis appeared.

CXIII.

At the end of fifteen days I knew for certain that the King of Tunis and his fleet would not come to Mallorca. And then I set myself to conquer the mountainous districts and castles they (the Moors) still held in the island, such as Oloro, Pollença, and Sentueri. The Saracens might be three thousand fighting men, besides full fifteen thousand more, counting women and children. And there came a parley from one (his name was Xuaip),[1]

[1] "Xuarp" in the edition of 1557, but it is evidently a misprint for شعيب, Xoâyb.

whom the Saracens of the mountains had made their chief, saying that if I could only grant him grace and treat him well, he would surrender the castles on the mountains, in such wise, however, that he himself could afterwards live in honour. And because the treaty was good for me and for all the Christians who lived there, or might come afterwards, and because the island would not be safe while such a war went on, it was the opinion of the barons who came with me, and of the knights, and of the others, that I should accept that capitulation, the terms of which were as follows:— That to him (Xuaip) and four others of his lineage, I should give inheritances, and horses, and arms, to each of them a pack-horse or mule, good and fit for riding, and that the Saracens should be allowed to remain in the land; those who would might do so, and live free under my rule; as for those who would not submit and accept that capitulation, I should deal with them as I pleased. That was put down in writing, and carried out as undertaken. There remained, however, full two thousand Saracens in the mountains, who would not surrender at discretion.

CXIV

And when I was sure that the Tunisian fleet was not coming at all, I returned [to Catalonia], leaving there En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and Don

Pere Maça, Lord of Sant Garren, one of my own train, with a number of followers, besides about fifteen knights and esquires of the train of Don Pere Maça, who wished to remain in the island. I then crossed over to Catalonia, and those who remained in Mallorca began war with those in the mountains; the war lasted all winter, into May. So strong were the Saracens in the mountains that no great harm could be done to their persons. This, however, my people managed to do; they hindered their getting grain except in some wretched places, not enough for their support; so that the Saracens came to such distress that they had to graze on the grass on the mountains like cattle. En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and Don Pere Maça determined to summon them to surrender, which they did by letters, and by a Saracen who carried them. They replied, also by letter, that they would never surrender except to the king who had conquered the land. Seeing that, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and En Pere Maça, and the knights of Mallorca, took counsel that they should come to me, and that I should cross over thither; and so I should ultimately have all the land.

CXV.

They accordingly came to me at Barcelona, and said they wished to speak with me, and give me

good news. I said, that they were welcome; I would listen to them and receive their good news. They then asked me to consider how I was to cross over to Mallorca; if alone, or with a train of followers. It had been agreed that the Saracens of the mountains would surrender on my setting foot on the island, and, therefore, no retainers were needed. I said that I rejoiced at their coming with such good news, and that I would cross over thither. And the opinion of those who had come was, that no knights or others need cross over, but only myself in person and a few men to attend on me. They had enough force (they said) to conquer the mountains, as well as a thousand knights, and my person was as good as one. En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia then said: "My lord, order two "or three galleys to be fitted out and armed; put "yourself on board, and we will go with you; as "soon as the Saracens see you they will surrender "at discretion."

CXVI.

It was done as En Berenguer told me. I had three galleys armed between Barcelona and Tarragona. On the fifteenth day they went with me to Salou; the night was dark and stormy, and it was against the opinion of the sailors that we put to sea. When we had gone ten miles with rather

bad weather, there came a fine night, calm sea and bright moon, so that En Berenguer said: "We may suppose that God loves us well; the "sea is so smooth that we might cross it in "slippers;[1] we expected to have bad weather, "and you have it so fine as armed galleys "could wish; it is apparent that God works for "you." I said to him that I served such a Lord that we could not fail in anything we did in His name, for which I thanked Him as well as I could and knew. And early on the third day, between sunrise and tierce, we were at Portopi, my flag was hoisted on each of the galleys, and at the sound of trumpets we entered the port of the city of Mallorca.

CXVII.

When they in the city saw me coming, they knew who I was, and that those whom they had sent had delivered well their message. All at once men, women, and children, came out to the port with great joy and pleasure at my coming; also they of the Temple, and of the Hospital, and the other knights in the city. And when I had got into my quarters in the Almudayna, En R. de Serra the younger, who was then Knight Commander of the Temple in the island (I call him the younger because there was another commander

[1] Galotxes, in French "galoches."

of the same name, who was his uncle, and held the commandery of Montso), came to me and said he wished to speak to me a little aside. I listened to him, and he said: "Do you want to "do a good stroke of war? If you send the "galleys, armed as they are, to Minorca that the "people there may know that you have come to "the island of Mallorca, they will no doubt be "much afraid. Let them know that if they will "surrender to you unconditionally, you will receive "them, and that you desire not their death and "destruction; and with the fright they will take, "I believe you will get both gain and honour." I called for En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Don Assalit de Gudar, and Don Pere Maça, and told them of the advice which the Commander of the Temple had given me (the Commander himself was there present), and they said they thought it good advice, and that I should do as the Commander proposed.

CXVIII.

I then ordered En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Don Assalit de Gudar, and the Commander himself, who had proposed the thing, each to go in a galley and tell the people of Minorca that I was there [at Mallorca] with an army, and that I did not desire their death. They had seen and heard what befell

those of Mallorca, who would not submit to us. But if they would submit, and behave towards me as they themselves had behaved towards the King of Mallorca, I would willingly receive them to mercy. If they would rather have death and captivity than come in to me, I could not help it; they would have to pass under it. I then had credentials in Arabic drawn up by an Alfaqui of mine from Saragossa, named Don Salomó, brother of Don Bahiel,[1] bidding them give credence to my three envoys, and believe that they spoke for me and in my name. I also said that I would go to Cap de la Pera, thirty miles by sea from Minorca, and that they would find me there ready to hear the result of their mission.

CXIX.

I made the galleys go all night with the messengers, who got to Minorca next day between nones and vespers. The Kaid, the sheikhs, and the people of the country, came out to the galleys to the harbour of Ciutadela, and asked: "Whose are the galleys?" They said they belonged to the King of Aragon, Mallorca, and Catalonia, and that they themselves were messengers from him. When the Saracens heard that they put aside their arms, on the ground, and said: "You are welcome

[1] See above page 151.

"to our island; on our heads! you can land "safe and sound! we will do you favour, honour, "and pleasure." The galleys ran their poops on shore, and the men sent for mattresses, mats, and cushions, on which to lie down. All three messengers landed from the galleys, besides a Jew I had given them for an interpreter. Thereupon the Kaid and his brother El Moxerif,[1] a native of Seville, whom I afterwards made Rais (governor) of Minorca, and all the sheikhs, listened with attention and great devotion to my letter and message, and said they would consider its contents.

CXX.

The result was, that they begged the messengers to wait till next day, as they would send for other sheikhs (elders) in the island who were absent, that they might have a more complete council. The messengers, that is, En Berenguer, Don Assalit, and the Commander, replied that they would do as was wished. Thereupon they were invited to go into the town of Ciutadela, saying they would show them great love, for love of the King, whose men they were. They said that till they got their reply they would certainly not enter the town; they had no orders to do so. The

[1] Almoxerif, in Spanish *Almoxarife*, is not a proper name, but that of a tax-collector, المخارف, or minister of finances among the Spanish Moors.

Saracens replied that it should be as they pleased. In a little time they brought ten cows, a hundred sheep, two hundred fowls, and bread and wine as much as the messengers wished, and stayed with them till vespers to keep them company. And at vespers, when the Saracens went into the town, our messengers went into the galleys. That same day, at vespers, I myself went to Cape Pera, which is in sight of Minorca. And behold what the Royal army consisted of! I had with me only six knights, four horses, one shield, five esquires to attend on my person, ten servants and some scouts. And when it became dusk, before eating my dinner, I gave directions to those who were with me, and caused fires to be lighted in more than three hundred places in the bushes, in the likeness of an army encamping. When the Saracens saw that, they sent two sheikhs to ask the envoys, "What were those fires on Cape Pera?" Our people said, "It is the King with his army there," (for I had instructed them to say so); "he wishes to hear quickly your answer, one way "or the other."[1] When the Saracens heard that, they were in great fear, and when morning came they told the messengers to have patience a little time, that they would soon have their answer. The messengers replied they would do so.

[1] O de hu, o de altre breument. Edit. 1557.

CXXI.

And next morning, after the Saracens had had prayers, the Kaid, his brother, the Moxerif, the sheikhs, and full three hundred of the principal people in the island, came from the town, and said that they gave great thanks to God and to me for the message I had sent them, for they knew well that they could not long defend themselves against me, and that they would put in writing the capitulation under which they wished to surrender. It was thus worded: They said the island was very poor, and there was not space in it for growing corn for the tenth part of the inhabitants; they would willingly take me for their lord, and divide with me what they had, for it was reasonable that a lord should receive tribute from his vassals; they would give me every year three thousand quarters of wheat, a hundred cows, and five hundred sheep or goats; but I should make an agreement with them to keep and defend them as my subjects and vassals: that duty and engagement would they keep towards me and my successors for ever and after. Then my envoys said to them, that they had something more to do, which was to give me possession of Ciutadela and of the hill on which its castle stands, as well as of any other

fortresses, if any there were, in the island. To this they agreed at last, though perforce and hard pressed; for after some consultation among themselves they said that since I wished it they would do so, for they had heard that I was a good lord to my people, and so they hoped I would be to them. In drawing up this capitulation, and all the principal and best men in the island swearing to it on the Alcoran, three whole days were spent. Don Assalit, however, had introduced a clause in the agreement that the people of Minorca should give two "quintals" (two hundredweight) of fresh butter[1] every year, besides two hundred bezants for leave to transport cattle. I was all the time at Cape Pera waiting for the galleys and for the messengers, though still making the same fires as at first.

CXXII.

Early in the morning of the fourth day, at sunrise, after mass, there came news that the galleys had arrived. And the envoys sent to tell me to decorate well the house I was in, for they brought good news. I, accordingly, had it well swept and strewed with fennel, for we had nothing else to serve for rushes.[2] I caused all the

[1] Mantega, *i.e.* butter, from the Arabic منطيقَة *mantecah*, "the best part of milk, cream," &c.

[2] Cañas (rushes), the flooring made of them.

counterpanes I and those of my suite had to be hung from the walls as if they were tapestry, and I and those who were with me put on the best clothes we had there. The envoys were accompanied by a deputation from Minorca, consisting of the Kaid's brother (the Moxerif) and five sheikhs, the most honourable in the whole island. I sent out horses for them to ride on, and other beasts of burthen for their luggage, and they came on. When they were in my presence they saluted me with great reverence, bent the knee before me, and said that on the Kaid's behalf they saluted me a hundred thousand times as their lord, in whom he and they put their hope. I replied, that I wished, in return, that God might give them happiness; and added, that their coming pleased me well. It was in order that those of my army might not interfere with or in any way control the words I would have to say to them that I had removed to the spot where I now was, that I might hear what they had to say, and the better speak with them, upon which they thanked God and me for the words I said to them.

CXXIII.

Then my envoys began to recite their negotiation and the result, and showed me for my approbation the agreement that had been made. I said that I

would consider of it, upon which the deputies from Minorca went out of the room. I then said to my envoys, "Great thanks do I owe to Our Lord for "that which He has granted me without sin on my "part, and to my great honour. In this present "case there is no course left but to accept the "terms which you have agreed to, and return "thanks to the Lord for the favour He shows "me and you." I then addressed the deputies from Minorca, and told them that I was content with the agreement my envoys had made. Whereupon I ordered letters to be drawn up, with my seal, which I gave them, acknowledging them as subjects of me and of my successors for all time to come, they in return agreeing to pay the stipulated tribute to me and to mine for ever after.

CXXIV.

Since that capitulation was made with the Saracens of Minorca, I have received as much again, or perhaps more, than was stipulated under it; for they have given me whatever I have asked for, and besides that have got every year from them, without asking, all I wanted. I, moreover, took as slaves, at my discretion, all the Saracens[1] who had risen in the hills; these I distributed

[1] In the island, *i.e.* in Mallorca, for Minorca has no hills, and besides that no resistance at all was offered by the inhabitants.

among those who might want them as slaves to settle on their lands. So in that expedition with only three galleys I achieved two enterprises,[1] because it so pleased Our Lord, my creator. After this I returned to Catalonia and to Aragon; and from that time to this, may God be thanked for it, the island of Mallorca has not required any help from me; indeed the Lord has so increased it, that it produces twice what it did in the time of the Saracens.

CXXV.

Two years afterwards, the Sacristan of Gerona, En S. de Muntgri, who had been elected Archbishop of Tarragona, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia and his brother, came to me at Alcañiz. I was right glad of the election of the former. When in my presence he (the Archbishop) asked leave to make a request. And he said that if I would grant to him the island of Iviça, he, with those of his household and family, would conquer it. Since I myself had not attempted its conquest, and had other things to do at the time, I ought to be willing and glad that he should undertake it, in order that men might say in future times that an Archbishop of Tarragona had conquered the island of Iviça, which he would hold

[1] By "two enterprises" the final occupation of Mallorca and the taking of Minorca are no doubt meant.

in my name and for me. I deliberated, and considering it an honour that an archbishop in my dominions should conquer land from the Saracens and hold it of me, I granted his request. He then made arrangements with those of his household and prepared for the expedition, causing a "trabuquet" and a "fonevol" to be made. When the Infante of Portugal and Don Nuño learned this, they called on the Archbishop, and told him that they would willingly assist him, if he would only give them shares proportionate to the number of men (horse and foot) they might furnish and take thither. The Archbishop agreed, and all went together.

CXXVI.

They therefore crossed to Iviça, and landed without resistance from the islanders; they then went with armoured horses, ships, and transports, to the harbour of Iviça, set their camp there, and attacked the town. When they had got their machines ready, the "fonevol," which was the less powerful, battered the town, and the "trabuquet" the castle. There are three walls to the town, one rising over the other. When they saw that the outside wall of the town was giving way by the battering of the "fonevol," the besiegers commenced mining; and when they saw it was time to begin the fight, they tried first petty attacks,

and prepared for a general assault. The army was put under arms, and one line of wall was taken; one Johan Xico, of Lerida, being the first man who entered by the breach. When the Saracens saw they had lost that first wall, they were dreadfully cowed, and parleyed for surrender. In this way was the town taken, and the castle too, for the "trabuquet" had not to throw ten stones against the latter. After Iviça was taken, there came many times [from Africa] Saracen galleys against it; but by the grace of God the invaders got there more hurt than did our own people.

CXXVII.

After this I was one day in my kingdom, in Aragon, playing and disporting; I had with me at Alcañiz, the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fuylarquer, and Don Blasco D'Alagó; and we were on a terrace talking and amusing ourselves. He took up the word and said: "My lord, since "God has guided you so well in this matter of "Mallorca and of the islands, why should we not "and you undertake the kingdom of Valencia on "this side of the sea, which has been for such "considerable time affronting us and your house? "Even your ancestors have striven to have it, and "could not. Wherefore, so God help me! it would "be well that we should think thereon, who are

"here present; for Don Blasco knows more [of "war] than any man in this world, and he can "tell you by which means and at what place he "thinks we can enter and conquer that land." Don Blasco D'Alagó then said: "I will gladly "tell the King all I know and what can serve "him; since you wish, Master, that I should speak, "I will." Whereupon I asked him to tell me where it seemed to him that we could enter the kingdom of Valencia.

CXXVIII.

Don Blasco then turned to me and said, "My "lord, the Master of the Hospital speaks truly. "Since God has given it to you to make conquests "beyond sea, you should now undertake that which "is at the gate of your own kingdom. Valencia "is the best land and the finest in the world. "My lord, I stayed two years or more in it, when "you drove me from your land. There is not "now-a-days so desirable a place as the city of "Valencia and the surrounding territory; the land "is full seven journeys long; if it be God's will "that you conquer it, I can assure you that no "land of more fertile and luxurious plains and "stronger castles is to be found in the whole "world. I will tell you my way of thinking in "this matter; should I advise you to besiege any

"strong castle therein I should give you bad "advice, for there are in the kingdom of Valencia "forty or fifty such strongholds that while they have "provisions you and all your power could not take "them. My counsel, to the best of my judgment, "is that you go first to Burriana, and for this "reason: Burriana is on level ground, and near "your own country; you can there get supplies "from your own kingdom, by sea and by land, "much better than if you were farther inland; "and with the help of God you will take it at "farthest within a month. You will find great "stores in it; and that is undoubtedly the best "place I know for you to commence the conquest." The Master of the Hospital then said, "My lord, "Don Blasco speaks truly; in the world there is not "a place so good and convenient to take possession "of as Burriana, so say all those who have been "in the kingdom of Valencia, and it is the common "talk in this our country."

CXXIX.

And I said, "Now that I have heard your counsel "and that of Don Blasco, I hold it for good and "loyal, and in the name of God be it so, since you "have advised me for the best. I will now tell you "one thing, which shows it is God's will that I "should undertake that conquest. I was at Mal-"lorca, at Cape Pera, when Minorca surrendered;

"Don Sanç[1] D'Orta was with me, and Don Garcia "D'Orta, his brother, and Pero Lopez de Pomar, "who had been on a mission from me to the Kaid "(governor) of Xativa. I happened to praise to "them much the land of Mallorca, which I had "conquered, and whilst doing so Don Sanç D'Orta "said, 'My lord, you are praising and extolling all "'day the kingdom of Mallorca; but if you do con- "'quer Valencia, you will find that this island, good "'and fertile as it is, is nought in comparison with "'yonder kingdom across the sea. In Valencia you "'will find five or six thousand cross-bowmen, with "'two-footed crossbows[2] and men innumerable who "'will not allow an army to approach the walls of "'their city, such is the strength of the crossbows "'and of the power there. And if you take that, "'you can well say that you are the greatest King "'in the world, and the one who has done most.'"

CXXX.

These words of Don Sancho stirred me on, because of his dispraising Mallorca, and praising

[1] Sanç is the Provençal form of Sanctius, Sancho, whence Sanchez and Sanchiz are derived.

[2] Ballesters de II. peus. Ducange, v. "Balista," mentions, without explaining, balistæ ad duos pedes; duas balistas ad tor et decem ad duos pedes: "two winch crossbows and ten two-footed." Perhaps "two footed crossbows" meant that they had stirrups in which a man could set both feet, so as to put his whole force to bending the bow. "Ballesta de arco" in Spanish.

Valencia. And I said to him, "Do you wish me to "tell you how I think I should subdue the kingdom "you speak of? I will tell you. I had no wife once; "they proposed to me to marry the daughter of the "King of Hungary, or the daughter of the Duke of "Austria, and the Pope agreed to it.[1] Yet I took to "wife a daughter of one of the most honourable "kings in the world, and though they would have "given me more with the daughter of the Duke of "Austria, I would not take her; I preferred the "daughter of the King of Hungary. When I was not "of so much account as I am now, they gave me the "daughter of Don Alfonso, King of Castille; it is "right that now when I am more powerful than I "was then, I should take to wife a king's daughter. "Now I will tell you how I will take Valencia and "all the rest of that land. I will go to Burriana; I "will take thither what supplies I can carry on mules "from Teruel, and I will get by sea besides supplies "for the army, and I will take two 'fonevols,' and "when Burriana is taken I will make the queen, my "wife, go there, that people may see how resolute I "am to stand by it. Then the castles that are on "this side of Valencia—such as Peñiscola, Cervera, "Exivert, Polpis, the caves of Vinromá, Alcalaten, "Morella, Culler, and Ares, which live on supplies "from the plain of Burriana—will be so shut in "between me and my Christian lands, that all will

[1] It does not say which match the Pope favoured.

"have to surrender, for I will be in front of them, "and they will not be able to get supplies from "Burriana."

CXXXI.

"When that shall be done, and I have those "castles, I will move on to a place the Christians "call Puig de Cebolla (Onion Hill), two leagues "from Valencia. Thence I will make raids on the "city itself, ravage and waste the land wheresoever "I go. I know the way to weaken and molest the "enemy, and bring him to great distress by famine. "Then I will set on them before they can gather "the harvest again, and will besiege the city, and "with the grace of God will conquer it." Don Blasco and the Master of the Hospital then said to me, "Had the Saracens in Valencia dictated your "answer, you could not have said better. It seemeth "to me that Our Lord will guide you, your reso- "lution is so good." And then it was settled what should be done and what should not be done. At that time I was at Teruel, Don Pedro Fernandez D'Açagra, Lord of Albarracin, had invited me to hunt wild boar and dine with him in a village close to Albarracin, named Exea, where he said I would find him, and I promised to do so.

CXXXII.

After I had dined, near vespers there came a message that men on foot from Teruel and the frontier had taken Ares; Don Pedro Fernandez and Don Atorella were then with me. He who came with the intelligence demanded a gift for the good news he had brought. I told him that I would give him one. Don Pedro Fernandez knew nothing about that part of the frontier; but Don Atorella said: "My lord, great good fortune has "befallen you; much have you gained on this day; "the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia is "begun." I said to him: "Please God it be so!" He replied: "My lord, do not delay; Ares is a "very good and very strong place, which you may "keep despite of all the Saracens in the world; "put yourself on horseback to go thither, and do "not delay, for God's sake. I know what a strong "place Ares is; and when you are there and see it, "you will say I have told you truth.

CXXXIII.

I then sent a message to Teruel for Fernando Diez, Rodrigo Ortiz, and the knights there, to meet me at Alfambra. I got there before dark, supped, gave the horses barley, and went on after midnight.

At dawn I had got to the end of the pass into the plain of Muntagut; I passed through Pobo, got to Vilaroja, one of the towns belonging to the Order of the Hospital, and stopped there that night. At dawn I left Vilaroja, and when I had got within half a league of the end of the hills, a mounted cross-bowman came after me, trotting and scampering to overtake me, and he said: "My lord, Don "Blasco [d'Alagó] salutes you, and tells you that "Morella is his!" When I heard that news it grieved me much. And Fernando Diez said: "My lord, bethink you what you will do; you need well think of it." I then made the cross-bowman stand aside, and called for Don Pedro Fernandez and for Don Atorella. But while I sent for the other [knights], Fernando Diez spoke in my ear, and said: "My lord, give up the journey to Ares; "Morella is a more important place, and a great "thing! It were far better for you that the "Moors had it than Don Blasco, and I would "rather that you gained it from the Saracens than "from Don Blasco; though he is my lord, you "are my natural sovereign.[1] Not for regard of "a lord whom I can change when I please will "I fail to give you my best advice; that is, that "you may understand that I hold myself as your "born subject." I then asked the opinion of Don

[1] E iassia que Don Blasco sia mon senyor, vos sots mon senyor natural.

Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, and the other knights, as to what I should do. Don Pedro and Don Atorella said: "Our advice is that you should "finish this journey to Ares, which you have begun, "that then you should go to Morella, and thus get "all done in one journey." But Don Fernando Diez said: "My lord, I am here one of the least "of your Council, but whatever any one else may "say, go you to Morella, and give orders for the "light-armed foot of Teruel and the villages to "move on. Let them follow as fast as they can, "without bringing on their knapsacks."[1] I felt that Diez's advice was the best, and that one should take care of great things before lesser ones. He then told me to prepare for much fatigue, for it was (he said) a long ride to Morella.

CXXXIV.

I then ordered some of the footmen to stay there, and the others to take their arms and follow me; I myself riding at the trot, and without order[2] crossed the river of Calderes and went on to the river which runs by the foot of the ridge on which is Morella. When I got there, two light-armed footmen came up with me. I asked them where the others were, and they said they were coming.

[1] The word used is "serrons," Spanish, *serones*.

[2] De trot e d'arlot.

I ascended a ridge to a little hill standing out from it, and afterwards called the King's Hill;[1] I stopped there waiting for my men to come up, and I set out watches, horse and foot, to hinder any one from going in or out of Morella till next day after I should have resolved what to do; I passed all night on that hill. It was snowy weather, for it was past Michaelmas; it snowed and rained a good deal, so that no one dared uncover his face; the horses and the beasts of burthen lay down in a hollow, here and there, where they best could; the mules that were to bring us supplies that night could not bring them up, and I dared not go down to meet them lest the people in the castle should communicate with Don Blasco, and he should put a stronger force into it. I had to go actually without eating or drinking from the night I had some food in Vilaroja till vespers[2] of the third day, I, the horses, and the beasts of burthen.

CXXXV.

At sunrise, Don Blasco came in sight with his horse, the knights in pourpoints, and the esquires bearing their arms; our watch saw them come

[1] Puig del Rey.

[2] "Tro al tercer dia a hora de vespres," according to the Valencia edition of 1515. From the night in Vilaroja to the night of the day following that the king passed on Sierra of Morella, was forty-eight hours; the time was part of three days.

down the hill. Thereupon Don Ferran Perez de Pina, who was captain of the watch, sent me word that Don Blasco meant to enter Morella, and asked for orders how to act. I sent them word that if Don Blasco tried to enter, they should prevent him, and make him come on to me. Before this message of mine reached the watch, Don Blasco pushed on as far as he could towards the entrance of the castle. Don Ferran Perez de Pina went up to him and said: "What is the matter, Don Blasco?" He replied: "I "wish to go into Morella and give orders to my "people; then I will go and see the king." Then my messenger got there, and said in Don Ferran's ear, that my orders were, not to let Don Blasco enter; whereupon Ferran Perez said: "Don Blasco, the king desires you to go to him." He said: "Tell the king that I will be with him presently, but I have a few orders to give to my men." He replied, "Know that you will not be allowed to "enter the place till you have seen the king, for he "has sent to me to tell you so." And Don Ferran went close to Don Blasco to bar the way, so that he could not escape from him if he tried. Don Blasco, seeing that it must be, turned his rein, and came towards me, the watch following him closely.

CXXXVI.

He dismounted, and I rose to greet him; then he sat down, he, Don Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, and Laceit Abu Ceit[1] [who was with me at the time]. He said he wished to speak with me alone. I made all go away, except himself, and he then said, "Well, my lord, what do you want of me?" I said, "I will tell you; Don "Blasco, you are my majordomo (steward of my "household), a man whom I have loved well and "done good to, and you hold lands of me. God, as "you have sent to tell me, has given you Morella; "now the place is so strong and renowned, that "though you deserve all the good that can befall "you, it is unfit for any one in the world to "hold but a king; wherefore I pray you by your "natural obedience to me, by the benefits I have "conferred on you, and by the high office you fill "in my household, to give up that castle, so that "I may do great things for you and yours; and "that people may say hereafter that I gave you good

[1] Zeit Abu Zeit, سيد ابو زيد. This Moslem prince, of the house of the Almohade sovereigns of Morocco, had been expelled from Valencia, of which he was "king," by his subjects, suspicious of his dealings with King James, with whom he took refuge. There was an agreement between them, that what Zeit might recover of his former state in Valencia he should hold as a vassal of Aragon, and that he should besides surrender six strong places to the king, of which Morella was one.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. iii. c. 2.

"guerdon for the service you did me." He said, "My lord, do you not remember the words of the letters patent you gave me?" I answered, "Yes, "I remember them very well; I will tell you what "the letters said: that if you ever conquered any- "thing from the Moors, it should be yours." He said, "My lord, exactly so it is." And I replied: "Don Blasco, you must know well that a conquest "of this kind is no province of yours, for this "castle, with its surrounding territory, is as good "as a countship; but this is what it is proper for "you to do, that since God has given you so good "a place, you should deliver it to me at once. I "will do such things for you that men shall know "how great a service you have rendered me, and "that I will do with the greatest good will." He said, "My lord, I will consider the matter, and answer you."

CXXXVII.

And Don Blasco went aside with four of the knights he had with him, and came to me after he had had counsel with them, saying, "My lord, do you wish altogether to have Morella?" I said, "Don Blasco, you must know well that I wish "very much to have Morella and its castle; it is "proper that I should have it, and it is proper for "you to take my offer." He said, "Since I now "see that it is your wish to have Morella, and you

"make me such promises, I will do as you wish;
"I will give it up to you, though on one condition.
"I beg that since you will have Morella, that you
"show me love in this, that I may hold it for
"you; good reason is there, since I surrender
"it to you, that I should hold it for you, rather
"than any other man in the kingdom." I answered him that I agreed to that, and then said: "Since that is settled, let us go to Don "Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, Aceit Abuceit, "and the other knights, and let them know that "from this hour you hold Morella for us." He assented, and we all went to them. Then Don Blasco said: "My lord, it is for you to speak first." And I replied, "No, Don Blasco, it is for you to speak." Then he said, "My lord, you "granted me by charter that if I took any place "from the Moors it should be mine; but you have "already done, and promise to do such great things "for me, that it is reason that I should do you "any service I can; it is my will, since you desire "that this castle should be your own, that it be "so. I do consent to it, but I pray of you that "I may hold it of you, since there is more reason "that I should hold it than any other man in your "kingdom." I told him that I thanked him for it, and would reward him for the service he had done me. Thereon he bent his knees before me, and did me homage by hands and mouth, that from

that hour he held the castle of Morella[1] for me, the King of Aragon. I stayed that day there; on the next I left, and went to Ares, of which I also took possession, giving to the footmen, who had taken it from the Saracens, so much of the spoil that they were quite satisfied and content.

CXXXVIII.

At that time there lived Don Sancho, King of Navarre, son of another King Sancho; the best king there ever was in Navarre.[2] The King of Castille caused Don Lope Diez, Lord of Biscay, to make war on him, so that he took two or three of his castles. The King of Navarre then sent me

[1] The Spanish translators introduce the word feud to describe the terms on which Don Blasco de Alagon received Morella from the king: but the text uses only the word *tener*, to hold, "quil tenga per vos."

[2] Brother of Berenguela, Queen of Richard I. of England; he reigned from 1194 to 1234. It will show the strange confusion of the times, to tell that in the opening of his reign his alliances with the Moors were such as to draw from Pope Celestine III. in 1196 a Bull denouncing them, and calling on him to unite rather with the Christian kings of the Peninsula in conquests from the Mahometans. Next year, 1197, he left his kingdom, went to Morocco, and remained there serving the Sultan for three years; it was said, in love with the Sultan's daughter; such is the explanation of his conduct the English chronicler Hovedan had heard. During his absence, Alfonso VIII. of Castille stripped him of considerable territories in the Basque provinces. However, when the Sultan Mohammad Annásir made the great campaign of 1212 against the Spanish Christians, he joined Alfonso VIII. with his army, and had a share in the great victory of Navas de Tolosa, in memory of which Navarre bears in her shield the chains with which the Sultan's tent is said to have been fenced.

word that if I would make a treaty with him, he would sign a deed showing me such favour and love that no king ever showed greater to another. I therefore resolved to go to see him at Tudela; for full twenty-five years he had not left town or travelled anywhere. I told Don Blasco [Maça], Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Atho de Foces, to accompany me to the interview, and they all went. When I got to Navarre, Don Sancho could not come down to me to the town of Tudela, so immeasurably and marvellously fat was he; he was ashamed to let people see him if indeed it were not in private;[1] wherefore I had to go up to him to the castle. Next day, at vespers, I ascended; he received me well and with what courtesy he could, for he came out to a place which he had not visited for ten years, and embraced me (he was as big as myself);[2] that he did very joyfully and laughing. We went hand in hand up some steps, and found seats set in a cloister of his chapel. He said to me that my coming pleased him much; he had never been so glad in his life that he remembered. I replied that I was very glad too for two reasons, for seeing him, and because I had greatly wished to make his acquaintance. When we had been some time in conversation, I said: "You

[1] Si donchs no era en lochs amagat.

[2] As tall, not as stout, it is to be presumed. King James was a giant.

"have sent me word that you wished to see me "for our common profit and honour; that I do "sincerely believe, since you have sent to me "to say so. And since the words of the message "are so pleasant and sweet to me, will you speak "to me on this night, or will you wait till to-"morrow. It is now (I said) the hour of vespers; "to-morrow I will come here, and you can say to "me what things you please." He replied that he would next day propose the best thing that any man had ever proposed to me. I gave him great thanks, and thereupon parted company for that night.

CXXXIX.

In the morning I heard mass, and then went up to see him in the castle. He began thus: "King, "I believe you know, or should know, what great "love and kindred there is between you and me; "there is no one in the world so nearly related "to me as you, except perhaps the son of the "Countess of Champagne, who is my own nephew; "notwithstanding which I hold that you are more "to me than he is, for I love you more. The love "I bestowed on him was badly placed; while I did "him favour and love, he behaved very ill to me, "for he parleyed and treated with my own subjects "of Navarre to drive me from my kingdom, and "make himself king; wherefore I sent for you,

"for I would rather you had the kingdom than "he, or any other man in the world. And I wish "to tell you this with my own mouth, rather than "that these people should act as intermediate "between you and me. But let it be in this way, "that men may not say hereafter that there was "any secret agreement between us two. I will "adopt you, and you shall adopt me;[1] it is like "that I shall die before you, for I am full seventy-"eight years old, whilst you are not yet twenty-five. "This I will do for the sake of my people, that "they may not hold me as a man who acted "lightly."

CXL.

When I heard Don Sancho's discourse it pleased me much. I said, "I give you great thanks; your "love for me is quite plain; but it must not dis-"please you if I wish to consult the nobles who "have come here with me; I will see you again "at vespers and give you an answer." Deliberation (I said) was needed for this reason. I had by Queen Leonor, the daughter of King Alfonso of Castille, a son, and I had made all the nobles and knights and cities of Aragon, and the city of Lerida, swear allegiance to him.

After discussing this matter with my councillors,

[1] Nos volem afillarvos aytot que afillets a nos: "take you to son."

Don Blasco Dalagon,[1] Don Atho de Foces, Don Rodrigo Liçana, and others, I sent them to King Sancho with the following message: "The king "sends us to you; we desire to say things for him "that he himself does not wish to say face to face "to you. The King of Aragon, our master, has "a son by his wife Leonor, but he is separated "from her by command of the Pope. He has, "therefore, ordered Aragon and Lerida[2] to take "the oaths to that son. The death of men is in "the hands of God, and young men die as well "as old. This is the greatest difficulty our master "has; he cannot take away his son's right as long "as he lives. Were it not for that, know well that "he would desire what you propose, and it would "please him much, for he knows how great love "you show him."

CXLI.

Don Sancho then said he would deliberate on what my messengers had told him. He took into council Don Sancho Ferrandez de Montagut, En Guillen Baldoni, who was then the most powerful man in Tudela, the chief magistrate of that town (Justicia), and others whose names I do not remember. And this was his reply early in the morning of the

[1] This Don Blasco was Don Blasco Maça [d'Alagó], as shown by Zurita, *Anales*, lib. iii. c. 11.

[2] Lerida is here taken for the Cortes of Catalonia, there held.

second day : that it was a great thing for him, who was so old, to stake himself against two persons such as I and my son were ; but for the great love he had for me, and that I might help him against the King of Castille, who did him wrong and deprived him of his inheritance, he would agree to it, and would put my son and myself together as one conjoint person ; so that if he died before me, his kingdom and all his land should remain to me, and if that happened to us both, meaning me and my son, Don Alfonso, then in that case my kingdom and my lands should remain to him (King Sancho). He would make his men swear to me, and I should make mine swear to him, that such agreement and the charters relating thereto should be observed. Our nobles then came straight to me and told me how the matter had been settled between them.[1]

CXLII.

When I heard this I and those who were with me rejoiced much ; and although I from that

[1] The document itself, printed by Zurita, *Anales*, lib. iii. c. 11, and in the Archivo de Aragon, t. vi. p. 102, does not reserve the rights of Prince Alfonso under this treaty of adoption or affiliation. It was solemnly confirmed, a few weeks afterwards, by many of the leading nobles of Aragon and Navarre, and by six deputies (*procuradores*) of towns of each country, in the name of all the others, and in that of the kingdom of Aragon. I cannot find that the estates of Catalonia were bound by, or entered into, this arrangement, which, therefore, in the case of the King of Navarre's surviving James and his son, might have severed it from Aragon.

moment became bound to go to war with the King of Castile, nevertheless the agreement was a good thing for me for three reasons: one, because the wrong the King of Castile did Don Sancho at the time was very great; another, because, as he was seventy-eight years old and set himself against us two, my son and myself, each of whom could live as long or longer than himself according to right and nature, there was good reason indeed for my taking that venture against him; the other, that since the King of Castile wrongfully did him hurt, and he made us his sons and heirs of all he had, I might well take the engagement of going to war and defending the lands of my father, since he had affiliated me and my son.

CXLIII.

Thereon I went up to Don Sancho and found with him two or three of his own barons, who had newly arrived. I thanked him greatly for the honour and love he had done me, and said that in that wise, as the nobles had treated with him, I would accept and act. I would assist him against the King of Castile and against every one who might wrongfully do him hurt: and thereon a day was appointed in three weeks' time, on which Don Sancho should bring together all the nobles of Navarre, the knights, and from each city ten men,

with consent of all the rest that what they did the others would grant, confirm, and approve; and from all the large towns likewise four men from each, with the authority of all the rest that they would grant whatever they might agree to. I would do as much on my side: I would send for those of Aragon, for the barons (*richs homens*), bishops, and for all the others, as he himself sent for the Navarrese; and when his people had done oath and homage of lordship and fealty to me, mine would do in that manner to him.

CXLIV.

On the appointed day I went to Tarazona and entered Tudela, as he (Don Sancho) could not leave it with my nobles and the men of the cities, and I took homage and the oath of loyalty and fealty from all the above said, that I, or the infante Don Alfonso, my son, should be king of Navarre, and our descendants for ever after him. In that way I made the nobles and the deputies from the cities, ten men from each, go into Tudela, also those of my own realm, who were to make oath and homage to him, as the Navarrese had done to me; moreover I appointed a man to go through Navarre and take the oath and homage of those from whom I had not got it; he in like manner did the same thing in my lands.

CXLV.

Those things done, I and he held council together as to how we should deal with the business of the King of Castile: there were four or five nobles on his behalf and as many on ours, and there were besides citizens of Saragossa on his behalf and on mine. All swore, their hands on the Holy Gospels, that they would keep the matter secret, and that each should give his opinion as to what had better be done. The Council, however, was adjourned till next morning, for it got near night: great business is better discussed in the morning, when it can be, than at any other time. After mass, early next morning, all they who had been in secret council came to the King of Navarre and to me to say what they had thought on the business that night. For Solomon says in his Proverbs that night bears counsel; and that they might the better think over it all that night I gave them till the morning.

CXLVI.

When morning came I told the King of Navarre to speak first, for he was older and knew more of the matter than I did. He began his discourse thus: "King, of the affairs of Spain I have great "knowledge, for this, that I have seen and taken

"part in the great things done in my time. There "was war once between the King of Castile and "my father, and by the mercy of God, whenever "our men met theirs, the Navarrese got good "esteem; but the odds were great, for they are "many and we are few; that did us hurt, though "by the grace of God, if we only have you for help, "I am equal to them. And let us do thus: I will "help you right well and with all my heart, and "do you help me as a son should do, for I hold you "to be my son; if we help one another well, we "will, with the aid of God, overcome them, for we "are right and they are wrong." With that Don Sancho ended his speech, and told me to speak next. I said that his nobles knew more of the border than I and my barons did; and so the word came to Don Garcia Almoravit, for all the Navarrese said he should speak first, and he said: "King of Aragon, "the state of this land I will tell to you; they of "Navarre who are here know it as well or better "than I do, as to the hurt that Don Lope Diez of "Biscay does the king, for the hurt that he does "the kingdom he does to the king; he does it "with his own forces, which are very great, and "the King of Castile has ordered his men to help "him, if he need them. But since our Lord God "has done us so great a good as to bring you "and the King of Navarre so close together, we "have hope in God that you two will bring it all to

"an end, and will do honour to the king and to you "in such wise as will please all the world, seeing "the great wrong done him." And they told Don Sancho Fernandez de Montagut to speak, and he said: "My lord king, what would you more? that "which we hoped from the favour of God we have "it now; if you two together will undertake that "work, the thing will come to a good end; what can "man say more? Since you guide well your enter- "prise, the king and you will bring the work to a "good end." Then I told the nobles and them of the Town Councils, of whom there are many, to speak; and they said with one voice: "What "is said, we confirm it all. Don Garcia and Don "Sancho have said that if you two together will "take this affair in hand, the work will end to your "honour; we will serve you as best we can." The King of Navarre said, "You wished our nobles to speak, now let yours speak." And Don Atho de Foces said, "This we will say on behalf of the "King of Aragon. Put before us what we are to "serve you both in, and I will risk in it all you "have given me; I will do what will keep my "lands in pawn for five years. Since we put our "bodies in it, it were ill to lament for our goods." And Don Blasco de Alagon said: "My lord, the "nobles of Navarre say well, that if you two together "strive to carry on the work well and stoutly, "we all, you and we, will be of more account;

"and since God has brought together your love and "the king's, you together can do much if you will." And thereon Don Rodrigo Liçana said: "Take "counsel, you and the King of Navarre; you have "to consider those who serve you in this enter- "prise, for it is by the help of your good vassals "(*homens de valor*) that you and he have to win "what we have spoken of, and to bring it to "a happy ending." The King of Navarre said: "Speak you, King of Aragon." And I said: "That I will do."

CXLVII.

"Well do you know, king, that when the hour of "death comes we kings take from this world nothing "but a shroud apiece, which is indeed of better "cloth than those of other people; but this only "remains to us from the great power we once had, "that we can serve God with it, and leave behind "a good name for the good deeds we did. If in "this world we do not do them, there will come "no other time in which we can. If you please, I "will show you how you can conquer in this war, it "will be in this wise: It is true that I have three "or four times more people than you, but you have "more money than I have, and more bread, and "more of other things good in war. I propose to "you that I should have two thousand knights, and

"that you should have one thousand. In your land "you can raise them, between knights and men "of birth, who know well how to manage horse "and armour. And do you send to your cousin, "the Count of Champagne, to come to you, and ask "him to help you with a thousand more knights; "he can well find them. And if peradventure the "Count of Champagne, when he hears of the treaty "between us,[1] is unwilling to help you, do you alone "raise two thousand knights, for by God's grace you "have wherewith to pay them; money is no good "to any man if it be not used; and in what can "you use it so well as in revenging the affronts "the King of Castile has done to your father and "yourself? For that deed you will be honoured "and will die honoured, whenever you and I shall "die. And I will tell you how it will go. If we "have four thousand knights by birth, and go into "Castile, the Castilians are proud and presump-"tuous people, and will fight us; nothing will "prevent a battle. By God's help we will gain it, "for we are in the right and they are in the wrong; "and when we have beaten them in the field, as "the villages of Castile are all without ditch and "wall, we will get into them as into an open place; "we will sack them, and our men will gain so "much, that they who are not with us will come "for the gain we get, and will be with us."

[1] Disinheriting him.

CXLVIII.

Thereupon King Sancho answered me very fiercely and very angrily, and told me to manage my affairs in my own way, and he would manage his in his way. When I heard his answer it grieved me much. I told him that he ought to have taken well all I had said to him, for I had advised him to nothing but for his honour, and that he might recover what he had lost. His people, however, dared not say anything to him or contradict him in anything, so that I addressed myself to Don Sancho Fernandez, and said: "Don "Sancho Fernandez, you do ill in not speaking the "truth to your lord." And he replied: "It is for "you to do what you have here offered to the king, "and if God pleases it will turn to your honour and "profit." As the agreement was between me and King Sancho, I did not wish to contradict Don Sancho, and so put off my reply till the next day, saying: "To-morrow morning I shall speak about that;" and so I left King Sancho, as I saw he was vexed.

CXLIX.

Next day I saw King Sancho again, and asked him to lend me a hundred thousand sous. He said he would do it if I gave him security. So it was

agreed between him and me that I should deliver to him Ferrera, Ferreylo, Penaredona, and La Faxina, and that he would make the loan. I said it pleased me well; and it was agreed that I should furnish at Easter a thousand knights, and before Michaelmas another thousand, and that he would so behave towards me that I should thank him for it,[1] and that he would besides furnish the other thousand; and we separated on that understanding. So Easter came, when I was to meet him. Other affairs came on me, so that I had to cross at that time to Mallorca; and to put off seeing him for two months that I could not go to meet him. When I did come he was minded to throw blame on me. Before I met him there came to me a knight, who had been full twenty-one years with him, and who was also a friend of mine, named Pedro Xemeniz de Valterre, who said: "Now, look what "you will do, for the King of Navarre throws on "you the blame of your not coming at the time "you undertook to do." I said to Don Pedro Xemeniz: "I thank you much for letting me know that;" and next day we met, I said to the king: "I have come to see you; and I pray "you not to take it ill that I did not come on "the day fixed, because I had to do things for "the good of this very business of ours and that I

[1] The meaning seems to be, that the King of Navarre was to treat the 2,000 Aragonese knights so as to please their king.

"might help you better." He said: "That may "be; but why did you not keep to the appointment "and the day?" I said to him: "It is better as "it is, both for you and for me; you should not "regret it."

CL.

"Now show me," said he, "how it is better, and "I shall understand." And I said to him: "By "this delay I have gained two hundred knights, "whom you will have to help you. But now tell "me, have you yourself made ready your thousand "knights? I do not find in all Navarre more than "three hundred knights equipped and ready, whilst "I have with me a thousand. And if you, whose "concern it is, have not got ready, nor given any-"thing towards it, how can you blame me who have "actually got the thousand knights under arms? "for if you want them, there they are at your "service; we will at once declare war on the King "of Castile if you will only furnish the other "thousand." Thereupon the King of Navarre said that he would consider of it, and I went away. As I was going down from the castle of Tudela, I met a retainer of Don Garcia Almoravit, who was taking a message from his lord and from Juan Perez de Basca,[1] on the borders of Castile, to the king. "My lord," said he to me, "I came here with a

[1] Another copy, Basta.

"message to the King of Navarre, and I have now "been here good four days without being able to "see him." I said to him: "What message do you bring?" He said: "So God help me, my lord, I "will tell you; you stand so well with the king that "I will not keep it from you. The nobles send to "tell the king that if he would only send them two "hundred knights, they would beat Don Lope "Diez of Biscay, and conquer in this war; there "is no doubt of that." I told the man that I myself would deliver the message to the king; I could not do it then, as I had just left the castle, but would willingly tell him so at vespers.

CLI.

I accordingly returned in the evening to the king, and said to him: "King, why do you act "so? There is a knight at the gate who comes "from Don Garcia Almoravit and from those of "your household who are on the border; he says "that for four or five days he has been unable to "see you. I will tell you his message; he brings "good news." He said: "What news does he bring?" I said: "In good sooth I will tell you; "but do not say that I disclosed it. He says that "with two hundred knights, whom you can find "and send to the border, they would conquer "Don Lope Diez; and if Don Lope Diez were

"but conquered, your war would be at an end. "Make the man himself come in to see you and "explain." He said: "Let me tell you. Do you "not know what that is? All the nobles deal "falsely with me, and wish only to extract money "from me." I said: "They do not ask for money, all "they ask is two hundred knights, and do you send "them those. What will you lose, while you can "gain great honour? Peradventure you will never "have such a chance as now you have. I would "willingly go myself with sixty knights I have "here with me, but that I have not yet declared 'war on the King of Castile; but I will find some "way of evading that. Do you proclaim a summons "to arms in the town, and I will order my men "to follow those you name as chiefs, and will give "them rations for eight days, and they will do "what you order." And he said: "It is not your business."[1] And when I saw that he had no concern about his own business I was silent, and said to myself, "I have done all I could do."

CLII.

When I saw that he did nothing more in the matter, I went to my house and said to my barons: "See you how it is with us?" and I then told them what had been said. Don Blasco said to me:

[1] "Nous ha de veer."

"My lord, since the king has no care for his "affairs, why should you have more than he? Do "you to-morrow take leave of him, and tell him "that when he requires you he will find you in "readiness, if only he will perform what he has "undertaken towards you." I and all the rest said: "Don Blasco says well, and so will I do." When morning came I went up to the castle, and told the king that on his performing what he had promised he would find me in readiness with the two thousand knights, according to agreement; that it lay with him, and not with me. I remained one day there, and then went away.

CLIII.

And when I was out of Tudela and had got to Tahuste, I determined, since the king did nothing well for himself or for me, to go into the Moors' country and take Burriana. I fixed a day for my people to meet me at Teruel in the beginning of May, that is the barons (*richs homens*), the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital, and such of the knights of Uclés and Calatrava who happened to be in my dominions.[1] But not one of these came on the day appointed for them to Teruel. But there came, however, the Bishop of Zaragoza, named

[1] That is, the knights in King James's territories of the Castilian Orders of Calatrava and Santiago. Uclés was the seat of the last named. That of Montesa, which was purely Aragonese, was not founded till 1317.

En Berenguer de Montagut, Don Pedro Ferrandes de Açagra, and men of my own household, with Don Ximen Perez Darenós, also of our household. I thus made up a hundred and twenty knights, besides the townsmen[1] of Teruel. On the third day after leaving Teruel, I was about to take up my quarters at Exerica, when from seven to eight hundred Moors came out of the town. I dared not quarter my army in the plain where the castle stands, for the Moors hindered our approach and defended themselves with crossbows and lances, in the fields close to us. Thereon that same night I resolved to lay waste the country beyond the castle, towards Viver, leaving behind me thirty horse in armour, besides all those who remained in the tents, fully a thousand men, and with the rest of my force lay waste the surrounding country; and so I did. The Moors perceiving the horse in armour, would not venture out. Next day I lay waste below the town as I had done above it, leaving the horse in armour at the tents.

CLIV.

As I came in from the foray there came to me En Ramon Çamenla, knight commander of Aliaga,

[1] Conseyl, in Spanish *Concejo*, properly speaking the Municipality; but in the present and other instances the word is meant to designate the militia or force furnished by the towns of Castile (*milicia concejil*) in the war against the Moors.

and another knight of the Temple, also a commander, whose name I do not recollect at this moment. Both entered the camp on horseback, lightly armed,[1] but lance in hand, and came to me. I sent for the bishop, the nobles, the townsmen of Teruel, and others of my train, and they spoke thus: "My lord, the Masters of the Temple and "of the Hospital, the commander of Alcaniç, who is "here with all the townsmen of Alcaniç and Mon-"talbá, salute you; they say that they have got as "far as the hill of Pascuas, two miles on this side "of Murviedro, and have been there for two days "according to orders, and have harried the valley "of Segon. Now they are sending you a message "and pray you to go to them quickly, else they will "be unable to stay there, for they are few, and "the power of Valencia, which is great, is coming "down upon them." I answered, "I will consider it;" and they left the tent saying plainly, that unless I went to the assistance of my people, they would all come away.

CLV.

I then held a council, and all those present said, "It were well to succour them and go there." With that answer the messengers went away. Then I said to my councillors: "What then is to "be done with these fine wheat-fields before us?

[1] Alforrats—without armour (?).

"Are we not to lay them waste? And are the "Saracens to keep us from them by force of arms? "Let us send message to the knights to beg them "to wait a day for us; next day we will be with "them; I will tell you how we can in the meantime "destroy these corn-fields." "So help us, God!" said all with one voice, "it were well not to go "hence before destroying the fields, but how can "that be done?" "I will tell you," said I; "I "was never before on this frontier, but it seems to "me as if these Saracens understood arms and "were masters in them. Now there is a certain "way of using arms which becomes a custom; and "with whatever skill one may attack, if the enemy "knows well how to abide it he will surely be "beaten. This shall be our way; we carry only "lances, and the Saracens have lances and cross-"bows; yet we are faster than they. I will tell "you how to destroy their fields without their "being able to help it. Let us put twenty horse in "armour in the upper road, and twenty more in "the road below; we will give the shields to the "esquires; the crossbowmen shall go behind the "esquires, and the men who are to cut down the "wheat will be just behind the crossbowmen." It was done as I proposed. Next day the crops were destroyed, for the Moors knowing that if they came to fight in their defence, the meeting would be to our advantage and to their loss, dared not

stir, and in this manner we wasted the whole of two districts. Next day early we took up quarters at Torres Torres, where we laid the country waste, after which a message was sent to the masters and to the others to say that we were coming.

CLVI.

Next day after mass we started for the valley of Segon, where we met the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, the commanders of Alcaniç and of Montalbá, and all together we went to lay siege to Burriana. The siege of Burriana began in the middle of May, when we made a "fonevol" and a "manganel" to batter its walls with. The Saracens in the place sallied out sometimes to skirmish. When they saw that we had sheep and cattle near their town, they came out—sometimes a hundred footmen and sometimes seven horsemen—which was all the force they had inside. Before the sally, they generally posted crossbowmen to shoot at our men if they should approach the gate. At times they were successful, got some of the cattle, and took it in; at other times our people got possession of theirs. I, therefore, forbade the men to pasture cattle and sheep between the camp and the town. One day, however, seven of our mules and pack-horses (*atzembles*), though I do not remember to what company of the army they

belonged, happened to be grazing in front of the town. The Moors of Burriana saw them, and the seven horsemen came out of the gate on the Valencia side to try and get at them. At that time a knight, named Guillen Dasin,[1] of the train of Don Blasco de Alagon, was guarding the pasture with his men, in his pourpoint, with his horse and an esquire who had his arms. When he saw the Moors come out he armed himself, put on his iron cap and went against the Moors, who were actually driving away the beasts. Had he been willing to attack the enemy and recover the mules he might easily have done so, for the army was coming up to help him; but his heart was not stout enough for him to set on the Moors, so they got four of the beasts into the town, and the other two (*sic*) returned to the camp.

CLVII.

Now I will name the nobles who were with the army; first there was my uncle Don Fernando, the Bishop of Lerida, En Berenguer de Aril of Tortosa,[2] the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital. There were also Don Blasco de Alagó, and En G. de Cervera, lord that was of Juneda, En. G. de Cardona, the brother of En R. Folch; and there were Don Rodrigo Liçana, Don

[1] G. Dasi, or Dafin.

[2] An error probably; the edition of 1515 adds, the Master of Tortosa.

Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, Lord of Albarracin, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Blasco Maça, Don Pedro Corneyl, En Berenguer Guillem, father of the present lord and an uncle of mine; the Prior of Santa Christina, the commanders of Alcaniç and Montalbá, the townsmen of Daroca and of Teruel. Those of Zaragoza were on their way, but Burriana was taken before they arrived. There came also to me a master workman of Albanguena, named Nicoloso, who made our "trebuchet" at Mallorca,[1] and he said: "Miçer, "you need not stay long here to take this place if "you do not wish; you can have it if you like "in a fortnight." I asked in what way? He said, "Give me timber; there is plenty here of the lote "tree,[2] and other kinds; and in eight days I will "build for you a castle of wood, and I will make "it move on wheels up to the place, as you know "I made the 'trebuchets' move up at Mallorca." I told him that he spoke well; but that I must first hold council on it with my barons.

CLVIII.

I, therefore, sent for Don Fernando, the bishops and the barons to come to me, and said: "Here

[1] Some men from Marseilles were named as making a trebuchet at Mallorca: "Nicoloso" addresses the king with the French word "Miçer!" Can Albanguena, elsewhere written *Dalbenguena*, be meant for Auvergne?

[2] *Lladoner:* the nettle or lote tree: *Celtis australis.*

"is a master-workman, who was with us at the "siege of Mallorca, and made our 'trebuchet' "there. He says that he can make a castle of "wood in eight days, with which we can take "Burriana." I then told them that I had already seen such a thing, and knew for certain that if it were made, the town would soon be taken. They asked, how could that be made? I said, "That I "know well; but let us send for the man, and he "himself will explain." While the man was coming, I described to them the way it was made, as I had seen at Mallorca: "the wooden castle (said I) "will have two supports on each side, which will "make four, besides two more in front of each "(at the back and in front), to steady the other "four.[1] There will be two platforms, one half way "up the castle and the other on the top. The "upper platform will hold a number of men, one-"half crossbowmen, the other half slingers, to fling "stones at the Saracens manning the wall. The "wall-towers will thus be thrown down, and the "Christians then will scale them. The Moors will "not be able to defend them owing to the cross-"bows and stones from the wooden castle. In this "manner shall the town be taken."

[1] The original reads thus: "Lo "castell de fust havra ii vases de "cada una part, e seran iiii menys "de ii altres quen havra en la fron-"tera da cada una part denant "e detras, e aquels fermaran los "vases." I cannot say that I have understood the passage and translated it right. The Spanish version is about the same.

CLIX.

Then the master workman himself came, and told it to them in the same way I had told it. All said that he must make the castle, and that I should see that he made it and was provided with all he wanted. Workmen were hired in the camp; timber was cut down and brought to the place, and the castle was built. All that time the "fonevol" did not cease throwing big stones into the town. On the other hand, two very powerful "algarradas," which the besieged had, were shooting at the "fonevol"; but this was well covered with hurdles, and stood lower than the "algarradas," besides, when the "fonevol" began to throw, the "algarradas" left off throwing, from fear of it. When the wooden castle was made, we had full a hundred[1] sleepers for ways ready, well greased and prepared. The master-workman fixed two anchors in the ground under cover of a mantlet of hurdles pushed forward, and fixed near the side of the ditch by men with shields and in armour. The points of the anchors were next driven into the ground by mallets; through the ring of each anchor large stakes and irons were driven in by mallets; to these we fastened the ways on

[1] A word seems wanting in the original; indeed, the whole passage is a very confused explanation of the mechanism employed, and my version may be wrong on some points.

which the wooden castle should move. The master told us to have men to draw it next morning, that he would show how it should go.

CLX.

At sunrise I mounted and rode to that part of the camp occupied by the people of Daroca and Teruel, to ask them to send me each two hundred men. They sent them immediately, and I said, "Master, are you ready?" He said he would be ready immediately; he had to fix the ropes for working the ways. I said, "Master, by my advice "you would delay moving the castle for two whole "days." He said, "Why, Miçer?" "For this "reason," said I. "The enemy has two 'algar- "radas;' if they work them against the wooden "castle, it has no screen, and they are sure to hit "it as they would a board." He said, "Please "you let it go; if there were ten 'algarradas,' the "castle would not care more for them than for a "piece of cheese." Yet I said, "If you like, I "could very well in the course of to-day put up "defences to it; I could send many carriers to the "sea to bring the warps and cables of the ships; "thirty of them would be enough; I could easily "put beams of timber on the top of the wooden "castle, standing out a fathom; I then would tie "the ropes to these and let them hang down, and

"they would most efficiently parry the blows of "the 'algarradas.'" He said, "Miçer, it is unnecessary; this is not a time for such niceties." I said, "You know best of this matter; I will not oppose you in what you think right."

CLXI.

I then set to work, ordering men to pull at the ropes; I called out "Ayós," as sailors do, when they launch a ship, or haul her in; and I thus moved the castle. But when it had gone some way in that manner, it stopped, for the supports (wheels) could not move; arrows came down on us, and wounded four of our people at the very beginning. I had on my pourpoint and my "gonyo" at the time; my iron helmet on my head, and a shield with which I covered myself; there were besides full twenty men with shields shielding those who were pulling at the ropes. I kept them so close together that I did not allow the wounded even to leave the ropes, but made them sit down under cover, and then had their wounds looked to secretly. Eight or ten of them were wounded, for I could not cover them so as to prevent arrows passing between the shields the men were holding. When the wooden castle had moved half the distance it had to go, the master-workman said to me: "Send these men "away, for they are no good at all, and they do

"great harm; I will manage so that (?) in the "morning all will be set right.[1] If you will give "me picked soldiers, experienced men, who will "obey my orders quietly, matters will be mended." I told him that he was right, and so left him. No one ever drank so much in a day as I then did; I swallowed two great cups of wine and water before dinner, and then dined.

CLXII.

And in that business no one helped or offered to help me. No sooner did I go to my dinner than the "fonevol" left off working, and then the Saracens set to work the best of their "algarradas" and struck [the castle] ten times before I had done eating. That grieved me so much that had one struck me ten blows in the side he would not have hurt me so much as did each blow aimed at the wooden castle while I was eating my dinner. I sent for the master-workman to come to me as soon as he had done his dinner, and when he came, said to him: "Would it not have been

[1] This expresses what must be the sense: the words of the edition of 1557 are "E yo aguisar "los he en tal manya ques guar- "daran abreada denant sil tro- "baran"; those of the edition of 1515 are "e yo aguiar lo he "en tal manera que esguardaran "abreada denant siltrobaran;" both editions, though made upon the same MS., have "abreada," a word of unknown, or no, meaning at all. The modern one gives "e jo aguisar lo he en tal "manera que quan se guardaran "al alba denant si lo trobaran," which is in part more intelligible.

"better to do what I told you, and follow my "advice? Now it is too late." I could not at that hour get men to go and draw it back to a place where it might be repaired; so I left it exposed all that night; and the "algarradas" did not cease throwing stones at the castle, hitting it more than a hundred times.

CLXIII.

When day came I saw very plainly that the castle would be completely destroyed if it remained where it was; so I sent word to the master-workman before dawn to have ropes put into the rings so that we might in the early morning draw it back. All my own retainers were armed, and at morning, before the sun was up, I had the castle drawn back towards the camp, and so far off that the "algarradas" of the enemy could no longer reach it. I and the rest of my people plainly saw that the castle could be of no use, for the blows of the "algarradas" had greatly injured it, and so it was given up; and thereafter we would not employ again that device of a castle. Then I, the bishops and the barons, resolved that our "fonevol" should batter, and that mines should be made, and that there should be no change from that; so the "fonevol" and the "manganel" battered, and we had mines made.

CLXIV.

And at that time there came on that coast two galleys from Tarragona, one of Bernard of Santa Eugenia, the other of Pedro Martell. I myself had no galley at the time, and I was much afraid that the King of Valencia might fit out two or three of his galleys, and stop the provisions that came from Tarragona and Tortosa; sailors and others well acquainted with sea affairs advised me to keep those two Tarragona galleys, and not on any account let them go. I therefore went to the tent of the Master of the Temple, sent for the owners of the galleys, and entreated them in every wise, since the galleys were on the coast, to keep them where they were, and that I would willingly give what it had cost to fit them out, and yet much more. They said the galleys had cost them a great deal, and begged me to let them go and not lose what they had spent on them. I said to the masters: "En Bernard, "you are a man of such repute, and you, En Pedro "Martell, a man of such consideration in your own "town, that you should regard in every way my "honour; why then should you wish me to leave "this place and not take it? to say nothing of the "shame and hurt that I and all my army would "endure. I have fought and destroyed in Aragon "and Catalonia all those who rose against me; I

"have conquered the county of Urgell and the "kingdom of Mallorca; this is the first town in that "of Valencia I have besieged; and raise the siege "I certainly will not. I would have to raise it if I "could not get food; therefore I pray you for God's "sake, and as you are my born subjects, not to do "me so great harm and so great dishonour."

CLXV.

They said they would consider of it, and while they were deliberating messengers went backwards and forwards between me and them; and it came to this, that it would cost me sixty thousand sols to be paid to them on the other side. I told them that I would willingly give them the sixty thousand sols, but if they asked me to pay them there it could not be done. I could not at that time have paid down one thousand sols unless some one did lend them to me, or unless I put in pawn horses or other things. That was not the time to do that, and therefore I offered to find securities. They replied that for nothing in the world would they accept security unless that of the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital were given, and I accordingly asked them to become such securities. The Master of the Hospital at once said: "Guarantee me, and I will go into it." But the Master of the Temple, named R. Patot, said that he was not in the habit of

becoming surety for a king or for any one else; so we parted for the time. The Master of the Hospital then said: "I will speak to the Master of the Temple and see what I can do." And he said to him, "Why do we not do this? give that security "for the King, and let him give us a confirmation "of all the charters and privileges we hold from his "predecessors, and that will be better for us than if "he gave us a hundred thousand sols." The Master of the Temple said he would consult with his brethren; the brethren advised him to do it, and then he said he would. The Master of the Hospital then came to me and said: "Would you thank the man who got this business done?" "Yes," said I. "It can be done in this way," said the Master, "that you make a fresh charter comfirming all those "privileges we hold from your predecessors, and then "we will do what you want." I said, "Know, "Master, that we will not do that; you ask for too "great a concession." "What the Devil," said the Master, "you are a strange man, to say, Yes, I will, and then not do it." And I said, "Since you put "it in that way I will do it, but it would be well to "hear a third person in this business; I am a King, "and you are the Master of the Order of the "Hospital." He replied, "If you bring another "person into it all will be in vain; you and I are "quite enough. If the Master of the Temple and "his brethren knew, they would withdraw from the

"agreement and do nothing.." Then I said, "So "be it; but remember if it ever comes elsewhere "what agreement I made with you."[1]

CLXVI.

Thus was the matter arranged. I sent for En Bernard de Santa Eugenia and En Pedro Martell, and gave them the security of the said Masters. I kept the galleys in my service, and supplies reached us by sea so fast and continuously, since it was known that I had galleys, that there was plenty of food in the camp. Then my uncle Don Fernando sent me word that he and some of the nobles wished next morning to confer with me; I assented, and next morning he came to my tent. There were besides him Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Blasco Maça; they all kept from the bishops and from the nobles of Catalonia what they were going to say. Only Don Exemen Perez of Tarazona and the Justicia of Aragon claimed to be present, for they were of my household. They empowered Don Blasco de Alagon to speak for them, and he began

[1] This passage is obscure; all editions agree in giving the concluding paragraph as follows: "mas membreus que si venia en "altre loch, queus membras que "aço avia feyt ab vos." The Spanish translators think this means "wherever we may be, you "should remember that it was "only you that helped us in such "a business." I cannot guess why the Master of the Hospital preferred, and thought the Templars would likewise prefer, an oral bargain between the king and him to a formal document, at that time at least: but so it seems.

thus :—"My lord, Don Fernando and I came here "to serve you in this siege you have laid to Bur- "riana; it is a fact that kings often undertake and "attempt many things, as you have undertaken to "besiege this place; but kings cannot perform as "they would wish all they undertake, for if all that "you kings wish were done all the lands in the world "would be yours. Now we see great difficulty in this "enterprise of Burriana; you cannot keep together "the men of the towns, as they want to go home "and get in their crops, and the nobles besides have "no food. We should not like to have to tell you "that there is no food in the camp, *and that we* "*shall be obliged* to go away one after another and "leave you here almost alone, so that you would come "to grief and shame. If it please you, we can so "manage matters that you get great gain; and thus "another time, when you have made better arrange- "ments, you will be able to take the place, if God "be pleased. We will help you now so that Zeit "give you so much treasure from what he has that "you may amply repay yourself and your barons of "the expense you have been at in coming and "staying here."

CLXVII.

And I asked Don Fernando: "Don Fernando, "and you other barons who are here, do you think "I should act thus?" Don Fernando said, "On my

"faith, my lord, it so seems to us, owing to the "difficulty under which Don Blasco has said that "you and all of us are; we would not that you "should come to shame, because certainly men will "be obliged to leave you for want of food." I immediately answered him, that it did not seem to me as if I should give heed to such a counsel as that; and I said to him this: "We answer you in "this wise; the Lord has done to me much good "and much grace in my youth, and by His favour "everything I have undertaken has been brought "to a successful end. In my youth I conquered a "kingdom across the sea; I am now in the kingdom "of Valencia for the first time; and now that I have "laid siege to such a petty place as this, not bigger "than a farmyard, you wish me to give it up! Do "not believe I will do such a thing. Rather I pray "you and command you, by my sovereign rights "over you, to help me to take it and give me no "such counsel; I would never return to Aragon and "Catalonia with such great shame upon me as there "would be if I did not take such a town as this."

CLXVIII.

After vespers I went outside the camp, and sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona and for the Justicia of Aragon; they were brothers, and the Justicia was the elder. The other was the more prudent, and more to be relied upon for firmness and

for everything else, only that the Justicia of Aragon knew more of the laws of that kingdom, for he often, nay, constantly, gave judgments according to them. I said to them, "I sent for you for this reason, because "my father and I made you what you are, and for "my misfortune and the misfortune of my subjects, I "cannot disclose myself to any one in the army as "I shall to you two. This morning Don Fernando "and the nobles of Aragon called me to a council, "and they came before me, and before you, Don "Exemen Perez, who heard their words; they said "to me many things to discourage me from taking "this place of Burriana; they offered me treasure in "quantity, which, they said, the King of Valencia, "he who is called Zeit, would willingly give if I "would raise the siege of Burriana. I believe that "they were to have a good share of the treasure, as "much perhaps as they offered to me. When I "heard those words, I said they were very hard "and unfit for me to listen to; I ordered them "not to say them, for it was what I would not for "anything in the world do, on account of the "great affront it would be for me to raise this "siege." Nor could I refrain from weeping for the great harm they were trying to bring on me, since they preferred the King of Valencia's treasure to saving my honour and the fidelity they owed me. And when they saw me weep, they likewise began to weep.

CLXIX.

The Justicia replied, "What then, my lord, will "you do with such men as these, who, when you "least think of it, will leave you here alone; and "what will you do in return for those who will not "desert you till death?" And Don Exemen Perez said, "My lord and master, you must reflect that "you are surrounded by unloyal and false people; I "wish I were dead, confessed, and absolved, rather "than see the evil things your men do to you. I "have here fifteen mounted retainers with me, and "I believe that I can keep more than a hundred of "them in the camp who will not desert you; do "you consider what to do. Our Lord will help you "to take this town of Burriana." The Justicia then added, "Don Exemen Perez, you are my "brother, and you speak right well; but the king "cannot be fitly accompanied by a hundred nor by "two hundred knights, having penetrated so far in the "kingdom of Valencia as he has." Thereupon I told them: "Do you wish me to speak the truth? "Believe me, I would rather be hit by an arrow, so "it was not to death, and justify myself towards my "people, than that they might say that I only raised "the siege for the wound I had; but I will tell "you what I will do. I will send in the morning for "the bishops and for the barons who are here of "Catalonia, and for Don Bernard Guillem, who will

"certainly do what I command him, and for the good "men of the towns who are here, and will beseech "them as earnestly as I know, and am able to "do, to stay with me till God give me Burriana, and "I believe that they will grant me that. And when "the rest shall know that I am aware of the false "advice they gave me, and that these nobles offer "to stay with me, they will not dare go away; and "thus will I take Burriana in despite of the Devil "and of the bad men who give me such bad advice."

CLXX.

Then I did this. I sent for the barons and told them what my idea was. When they had heard me, the bishops first, and then the barons afterwards, said that the advice was unfit, and that those who gave it counselled ill; since I had come so far, they would willingly help me with all their might to take Burriana from the Saracens. They would act in such wise that I should know that nothing was wanting in them to support the burthens of the war, and help us with good will. When that was done, there came to me Don Bernard Guillem, and said, "My lord, "you now see that the advice to raise this siege "was not a good one to follow; I pray you grant "me this, that the militia of the towns make three "hundred hurdles, which I with my retainers will "place near the moat; do you give orders to your

"men to succour as if the Moors made a sally,
"for certainly we should be badly succoured by the
"others. I will be there night and day, and will
"not leave the spot until God give us Burriana
"and I myself can dine within the castle; and
"besides that, do you order your men to come at
"night in turns to help and succour me."

CLXXI.

I answered, that I gave him great thanks, and understood well that he would again do me service. I then sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and told him what En Bernard Guillem de Entença had proposed and asked. He said it was the offer of a good vassal, clearly showing that he was my faithful born subject. Don Exemen then prayed me to allow him to make part of the relieving force, and asked as a grace that Don Bernard Guillem himself should lead the undertaking. And when they of the camp, that is those who wished me to raise the siege, knew of this, it grieved them much, as I heard those say who had occasion to talk to them. As soon as Don Bernard Guillem had his hurdles ready, he made his knights and esquires in armour carry them to the place where they were to stand, near the moat. And when he had got ready the mantlets which a master workman made for him,

he put them on the hurdles, and did not leave them by day or night; indeed he ate his meals there, and would not go into the camp. Nor did Don Exemen Perez with his men leave him by day or night, but each set of men took up the work by turns, at different hours, so as best to bear the burthen amongst them.

CLXXII.

One night, between the first sleep and midnight, the Saracens, carrying fire-torches in their hands, sallied out against the mantlet of En Bernard Guillem de Entença, where the hurdles stood. There were fully two hundred of the enemy, and others were on the walls with two-footed crossbows ready to shoot at those who came to protect the hurdles. The cry arose in the camp, "To arms! "to arms! the Saracens have made a sally against "En Bernard Guillem's hurdles." I heard the noise, and they who lay beside me in my tent asked if they should saddle the horses. I said, "Not by any means, but let each of you go to "the spot on foot as fast as he can." Meantime, I at once put on my quilted coat (*perpunte*) over my shirt—I did not wait to put on the "gonella"—and with some ten who lay beside me, with shields on our arms, and iron caps on our heads, ran to the hurdles where Don Bernard Guillem

was. I asked on my arrival, "What is the matter, "Don Bernard Guillem? and how goes it with "you?" He said, "My lord, well and fairly; lo! "the Moors here tried to set fire to the hurdles, "but by the grace of God we have defended "them well."

CLXXIII.

Then one of the esquires said to me, "My "lord, Don Bernard Guillem is wounded by "an arrow in the leg." I said, "Let us get "lint from the camp, draw out the arrow and "dress the wound." I myself took lint, dipped it in water, and put it to the wound; I then bound it up with a piece of the shirt of an esquire who was there. And when the wound was bound up I asked Don Bernard to go to the camp, for I myself would remain and take care of the hurdles till he was better. And he said, "My lord, I "will not do that, I shall get on here as well as, "or better than in the camp." No baron but me would assist Don Bernard; I saw that, and said to him, "Courage, Don Bernard! bear it like a man."

CLXXIV.

Meantime I set up some of the hurdles that had been made in the camp. On the left, where Don Bernard Guillem de Entença was stationed,

I had two mantlets made, and every night knights and esquires on foot came to watch the "fonevol." I placed the mantlets there that they might be nearer to Don Bernard Guillem. One Friday, after dinner, my men sent me word that the mantlets had been left without guards, and that I ought to send a company to guard them. I immediately put on a quilted coat (*perpunte*), and an iron cap, and sword in hand, with eight knights equipped in the same fashion, went to the hurdles. I had previously sent there a mattress and a bolster. As I lay thus with my quilted coat (*perpunte*) unlaced, the Saracens saw that the camp was asleep; they knew that my pennon was there, and that I myself must be in my tent. They therefore made a sally, with fully forty men with shields, and up to a hundred and seventy more in all. On the wall and on the barbican the Saracens had cross-bows ready, and the others brought fire with them. There were two esquires at two of the hurdles on the look-out against the town, and when they saw the enemy they said, "To arms! to arms! lo! here are the Saracens!" All got up instantly and put on their iron caps; I myself had brought a sword from Monzon called Tizo,[1] which was a very good one and lucky to those who handled it. I would rather use it than a lance, and

[1] Tizó, probably from *Tizona*, which was the name of a celebrated sword belonging to the Cid.

therefore gave mine to an esquire who attended me. When my people in the camp heard the noise, all went out accoutred as I was; the Saracens left two torches fully burning near the hurdles a little in front of us. We drove them before us; they turned their backs and fled till in the direction of the barbican into which we actually drove them. We saw that we could not reach them, for they were quicker than we, for they did not carry either breast-plates (*gonios*), or quilted coats (*perpuntes*); they had only shields and lances, and so they got into the barbican, the other Saracens defending them by throwing stones from the wall. Seeing that we could not do them harm, and that we might receive it ourselves, we returned to the camp protecting ourselves by our shields. And believe me, reader, when I say this to be truth, that twice did I uncover my whole body that the Saracens might wound me, so that, if I had to raise the siege, I could say that it was my wound that made me raise it. But our Lord Jesus Christ knows how things should be and should be done. He makes those to whom He wishes well, act for the best. He took such care of me that I received no wound, and took the town as will be told afterwards.[1]

[1] The preceding three pages vary considerably from the Spanish translation.

CLXXV.

When the mines had advanced so that they actually opened into the moat, I made my plan. I posted a hundred men in armour between the hurdles and the mines in the night, before daybreak, and ordered that at dawn all in the tents should quietly and noiselessly arm themselves. At the sound of trumpets all were to sally from the mines to assault the town; they were to storm the tower which the "fonevol" had battered down, for it could be done. I sent word the night before to the bishops and barons of what was to be done in the morning, and told them, if they kept the secret, the town would be taken next day. They said, "May it so please God! tell us how?" They were told of the plan I had made, which they thought very good; and they said they would set their companies in order, and that when daybreak came they would all be ready. I said, "God speed you, and take care to do so." And I myself set about preparing the thing.

CLXXVI.

At morning they sent me word that they were ready, and asked for orders how to act. I told them to stand in readiness, for the trumpets would presently sound; when they heard them sound

they were to push on. Daylight was coming on when I ordered the trumpets to sound; the men sallied from the mines and began to ascend the wall. When the Saracens heard the trumpets sound, and saw the camp in motion, they set up cries, and sounded their horns, and before our men could get up [the breach], six or seven of them came who had no other arms but maces. One of them drew up his sleeves, took a great stone and threw it at the man who was foremost, but though it struck him, the man was too near to be hurt. However, the man got five sword-wounds in the legs, and therefore could not go on whilst this was going on. The other Saracens on the wall threw stones down so that all the shields were broken, and my men could not get up, do what they would, though on the other hand the Saracens were greatly disheartened by our assault, as well as by the "fonevol" that kept battering the wall, and the mines close to it.

CLXXVII.

At the end of two days the Saracens of Burriana began a parley; they offered to surrender the town at the end of a month if the King of Valencia did not succour them before that time. I told them I would not wait three days, much less one month; if they did not choose to surrender, they

must prepare for battle, which they would have to their grief. They then asked me to allow them fifteen days; I said I would not give them fifteen, nor eight, nor five. When they saw how things stood, they said they would agree to this, that I should let them leave the town with what they could carry with them, and they would surrender; they should have five days for doing that, as time to make ready their things to depart. I should besides give them a guard to escort them to Nules, and swear that no one should interrupt them on the road, but allow them to reach that town safe and sound. I said I would consider of it.

CLXXVIII.

That was my conclusion; in view of the expenditure that was going on every day, and because Burriana was a better place for the conquest of Valencia than any other, there might be at the storming of the town a great fight between Catalans, Aragonese, and many foreigners who were in the camp;[1] again, there was in the town much corn that would serve for those who then guarded the frontier. For all these and many other things and reasons, I thought it

[1] Entre Catalans e Aragoneses e molta gent que y havia estranya: It is evident that the king apprehended a fight over the plunder.

well to accept the proposal; and so it was done, the terms being that they should leave within four days with what they could carry on their backs and in their hands. In that way did I have Burriana. And that men may know how many souls there were in it, men, women, and children, there were seven thousand and thirty-two. The siege lasted two months from the day we pitched our tents till the town was taken.

CLXXIX.

When Burriana was taken Don Pedro Cornell said to me that if I gave him the means of staying at it, and providing for the knights who stayed with him and for their wants, he would remain there with a hundred knights till summer. I reckoned with him how much [money] the knights would want, and how much food. It was agreed between us that I should give him sixteen thousand "morabatins,"[1] and that he should remain stationed there till summer. I therefore asked him to send for his

[1] Morabetins, from the Arabic مرابطين, *morábitin* (Almoravides). The *morabetin*, in Spanish maravedi, was a coin introduced in Spain by the Africans in the eleventh century. The Morabitin, or Almoravidin, were a dynasty of African Moors, who, after the overthrow of the Umeyyah, and of the *Moluk at-tawayif* or chiefs of petty kingdoms, established on the ruins of the Califate, became masters of Mohammedan Spain. The *morabeti* was of gold, or of silver, according to time. Whoever wishes for information on this point will find it in Saez, *Demostracion historica de la moneda de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique IV.;* Madrid, 1805, 4to.

men at once and garrison the town, and said that I would give the money to whomsoever he pleased. But Don Pedro said he could not do that; it was so great a matter that he must first go [home], muster his vassals, and speak with them. I saw that he was right, and therefore resolved to try what I could do with Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Exemen de Urrea. I begged them to garrison Burriana, with them their respective bands, and keep the town for me for two months, at the end of which Don Pedro Corneyll (*sic*) would have to come back. I did so, and begged them most earnestly to stay two months for my sake. They made excuses, and said that they could not do it; but I spoke to them, and prayed it of them so much, telling them how necessary a thing it was that they should grant my request, and not be the cause of my losing so great a boon as God had given me through the default of my vassals, that at last they gave way. When Don Blasco and Don Exemen saw that I wanted it done so much, they said they would do it if I would supply them and their retainers with what they needed. I accepted, and gave them many thanks.

CLXXX.

Then I divided my army, and borrowed from merchants provisions for two months, and everything

else the garrison of Burriana might want. I went myself to Tortosa, and with me En Berenguer, the Bishop of Lerida, and En Guillem de Cervera, who was Lord of Juneda, and became afterwards a monk of Poblet. When I had been a day in my quarters in the castle of Tortosa, both of the above-named came to me; there were with me at the time En Pero Sanz and En Bernard Rabaça, my notary; En Berenguer and En Guillem said that they wished to speak to me in great secresy and for my good. The Bishop of Lerida said, "En Guillem de Cervera, do you begin as was previously agreed between us." En Guillem said he could not do that; the other was a bishop and of greater dignity, wherefore it was for him to speak first: "It would be (he "said) for the great profit of you and of me, so great "a thing is it that we can advise the king to do." Then the Bishop began: "My lord, you know "well how near I am to you, and En Guillem de "Cervera too; and how earnestly we desire your "profit and your honour; now we see you have "undertaken a great and costly enterprise; it is "so great that we perceive you cannot carry it "through." I asked them, "What do you mean?" They replied: "This that you have undertaken at "Burriana, for you know, and we know as well as "you, that you have no treasure and have no great "revenue, and have no corn on hand anywhere in "the world, but are embarrassed how to live in

"going about your land; how do you think, then, "you can bear so great an outlay at this place, "which is only within two days' journey of the "country of the Moors? And how do you intend "to keep there so many horse and foot who cannot "live there, but must fight and die, while you "yourself cannot help them?" En Bernard de Cervera said: "My lord, the Bishop has said what "I myself would say, for we are of one mind and "thought in this; yet this will I say more, that the "King of Castile and you together could not keep "Burriana against the Saracens."

CLXXXI.

To the words I heard from them I made answer; but their speech grieved me much, for it came from some of the wisest men in the kingdom, and when I hoped they would comfort me did they bring discomfort and pain. Our Lord, however, gave me grace for the success that I was yet to have in other things that came afterwards, so that I took no notice of their words, but disdained them, and spoke thus to them: "I have no doubt that you have spoken right "and mean well; you intend to keep me from trouble "and outlay; but that trouble and that outlay I "will gladly bear, rather than give up a place which "God has granted to me. It must not grieve you "if for once I will not follow your advice."

CLXXXII.

And so I left them and went to Aragon, to Teruel. One morning, between dawn and sunrise, there came to me a messenger from En Exemen de Urrea at Burriana. I was then lying in bed; they knocked at the door, and one of my porters said that there was a messenger at the door from En Exemen de Urrea, and that he was the bearer of good news. I said, "Let the messenger come in; he is welcome, since he brings good news." The messenger then came in, and asked me to give him a reward for the good news (*albixeres*) whereof he was bearer. I said that I would in proportion to the goodness of the news he brought; the messenger said he was well content. Then he told me that the Saracens of Peñiscola had sent two of their number to Don Exemen de Urrea, intimating that he might send for me, since they would willingly surrender Peñiscola immediately. "And "Don Exemen," added the messenger, "is actually "sending you by me the letter the Saracens wrote "to him. Here it is." I had it read by a Christian who knew Arabic (*algarabia*), and found the words of the letter to be what the messenger said.

CLXXXIII.

Thereupon I heard the mass of the Holy Ghost and the office of Saint Mary, in order that God and His Mother might guide me in that business as

in every other I might afterwards undertake; I had food cooked while I heard mass; I ate, and immediately after took horse. There were with me at the time seven knights only, with their esquires, besides my own houshold servants. I did not require a guide, for through occasional boar-hunting in the mountain, I was confident that I could find the road to Peñiscola. The day that I left Teruel I crossed the plain of Muntagut and reached Vilaroja, which belongs to the Order of the Hospital. I rose before daybreak, and passed through a place called Atorella, where there is now a settlement; then I crossed the Trout river,[1] went through the valley of Ares,[2] and the pass of Prunelles, to Salvassoria and Temi.[3] I passed through the plain of Saint Matthew, which was then a waste, and reached the dry river bed at Cervera. At sunset I got before Peñiscola, on the other side of the vineyards, towards the Almarge.

CLXXXIV.

And I at once sent word to the Saracens that I was there. They rejoiced greatly; four of them came out of the place, and said to me that they were very glad of my coming and would send me their presents; that it was then late, but next morning they would do according to my will and

[1] "Puis passam pel riu de les Troytes," literally, "and then we crossed the river of the Trout."

[2] Dares or d'Ares.

[3] Saluasoria et Athemi in the more modern edition.

would surrender. Then at once the sheikhs of the town sent me a hundred loaves, two pitchers of wine, raisins, figs, and ten fowls as a present. At night I made screens against the dew, of carpets and blankets which we had with us, for I forbade cutting down any tree ; it would have offended the Saracens if at our first entry we had begun to waste their land. Except bread, wine, and cheese which I had with me, we had no food except what they (the Saracens) brought us. When it was full day, and the sun had risen, I went with the small escort I had there to the strand before the castle, with my quilted coat (*perpunte*) on, my sword girt, and iron cap on head. The Saracens when they saw me come, came out to me, all, men, women, and children in the castle, without any arms ; they saluted me, and I said to them that Don Exemen de Urrea had sent a message on their behalf to Teruel, saying that I should come, and they would surrender the castle of Peñiscola, but only to myself. "I saw (said I) "and read your letter which Don Exemen de Urrea "sent me." Then they owned that they had sent the letter ; they would make a treaty with me and surrender the castle at once, provided I allowed them their religion, and the liberties they were wont to have under their Saracen kings. They added that they were prepared to deliver the town and the castle to me on such terms. I replied that my scribes (*escrivas*) were not there to attest the deed

as I had come hurriedly; but if they should write the things they required of me, I would willingly come to an agreement with them, and that whatever agreement was made, that I faithfully promised to keep, and would keep. They then said "My lord, "thou wilt have it so, and we will have it so: we "will put our trust in thee, and will give up the "castle on thy faith."[1] They chose two Saracens, the Alfaqui of the place, and another one, and I gave them all my own escort to go up into the castle; the other Saracens, full two hundred, stayed with me outside. All stood before me, and I took care that none of them could seize the reins of my horse. When I saw my people enter the castle and shout Aragon! Aragon! I and the Saracens together went up there. Next morning I went off to Tortosa with the Saracens whom the people of Peñiscola had sent to take back the dresses, the stores, and the cattle I was to give them, as contained in the capitulation. The very same day I got to Tortosa all this was done, so that next day I returned to Peñiscola, where the scribes had already arrived, and gave them the papers to draw out the capitulation in due form.

[1] These words are not in Provençal, but in what approaches old Castilian. "Senyor queres lo tu axi e nos lo queremos e nos fiaremos en tu e donarte hemos (?) lo castello en la tua fe." The modern edition gives the sentence thus: "Seyor queres lo tu "aixi (?) e nos lo queremos ens "fiaremos en tu, e dartemos lo "castello en la tua fe." Did the Saracens of Peñiscola speak Spanish on this ocasion?

CLXXXV.

Soon after the Master of the Temple and the Master of the Hospital heard of my taking Peñiscola, the former went to Chivert, and the latter to Cervera; for my father and grandfather had granted them that those towns should belong to their Orders. So they insisted with the Saracens of Chivert and Cervera that since I had taken Peñiscola, they should surrender their castles to them. For as they had a charter for it from my father and grandfather, and as Peñiscola was the most renowned place in that district, and yet had surrendered, there would be no shame or disgrace in their surrendering also. Thereupon the Saracens did surrender the said castles, and immediately after I myself had Polpis.

CLXXXVI.

I had made an engagement with Don Pedro Cornell to meet him in two months' time at the latest, at Burriana; but one month after I was with him, accompanied by twenty five knights. I entered the town bearing my crane falcons; and there came also with me Don Pedro Ferrandez de Çagra[1] with fifteen knights. When I arrived those whom I had left behind rejoiced greatly. During my stay there my people made excursions, and I

[1] Açagra, he is generally called.

was constantly hunting; what with wild boars, cranes, and partridges, twenty-five knights lived daily on meat in my household, besides other inferior officers. In this manner I took Castello de Burriana, Borriol, the Caves of Avinromà, Alcalaten, and Villa Hameç.

CLXXXVII.

I waited at Burriana for Don Pedro Cornell from Michaelmas to Christmas. I then determined to make a raid on the banks of the Xucar, with perhaps a hundred and thirty knights,[1] up to a hundred and fifty almogavars[2] and seven hundred footmen. We marched all night from Burriana, and when opposite Almenara,[3] as we were going along the sea, the Saracens made five or six signal-fires on the coast below; then others who saw those signals made another great fire on the top of a mound on the ridge of hills (*sierra*) between Murviedro and Puçol, that the people of the country might know that a great raid was going to the banks of the Xucar. And when we had got to the Murviedro hills, the Saracens began to make signals from all

[1] Cavalers de paratge; I believe this to be the equivalent of *hidalgo*, i.e., hijo de algo, or "caballero de solar conocido."

[2] Al nogavar, from the Arabic المغاور.

[3] It is singular enough that the words menára and mináret, both derived from منارة, "a place to light a fire," should have given name to the very town where such fire-signals were lighted. Upwards of fifty different towns and villages, generally situated on mountain elevations, still bear the name of Almenara in Spain.

the towers in Valencia. We went by the upper pass; and finding that we were discovered went as fast as we could, driving the mules which had been left behind by those of the vanguard. In this way we passed by Paterna and by Manitzes to a ford that a guide knew, where the others had passed. When we were in the plain the day broke, it was a Friday; and we marched on to take up quarters at the town of Espiota; as we passed by Alcocer some two hundred men of the mule train went to the town of Alcocer, and in despite of the Saracens brought away plunder. This vexed me much, for what we wanted was to fight, not to plunder. I then went to Espiota, and took quarters there, for the mules could go no farther.

CLXXXVIII.

And when we were housed a Saracen said that if we would wait till sunrise Zaen would give us battle. We sent to him to say that we would wait for him till sunrise, and he might send any other message he had to send. We waited for him in the morning, but seeing he did not come we loaded our mules and overtook our scouting party on the banks of the Xucar, and went on to Albalat. There we stayed four days; but the war was so cautiously managed by the enemy that we could only make sixty Saracens prisoners, and took nothing else on the whole

raid. Yet we found a great deal of barley and many fowls, and we loaded all our beasts with as much as they could carry. We then crossed the bridge of Quart, and in three days got back to Burriana.

CLXXXIX.

At Burriana there came to me about Christmas Don Pedro Cornell; he had bought what supplies he could, and for the rest he brought money, for there was at Burriana a market for flour, barley, and wine, all which came by sea. I left the place, and Don Pedro Cornell, according to agreement, remained there with his hundred knights, who soon began to make forays against Onda, Nules, Uxó, and Almenara; they did not dare go very far into the Saracens' country, but still made good raids. An esquire of Don Pedro, named Miguel Perez, knew Arabic (*algarabia*) very well; he went sometimes to Almaçora to redeem prisoners,[1] of which there were many in the place. One day two Saracens said to him that if he would keep their secret and would reward them accordingly, they would make his lord have a great gain. The esquire said he would keep their secret and get his lord to reward them well; but what was the gain? They said, it was Almaçora. The esquire then said that what they said was really good; he would go to his lord and

[1] Per traure catius dels sarains.

speak with him on the subject. He came to Don Pedro Cornell and told him the news; Don Pedro was very glad and content therewith.

CXC.

He settled with his esquire to bring the two Saracens, or one of them, to him, as he would then make a bargain, and reward them accordingly. The esquire went back, and one Saracen came for himself and for the other. Don Pedro Cornell said he would reward them both well, and would even get me to give them a heritage, and besides that, one good horse and garments to each. But they said that it was too great a thing for them to perform and do without some Saracens, their relations and friends. Don Pedro Cornell said, "What do you want me to do for them?" The Saracen said: "Give them heritages, and let them remain in the country." Don Pedro Cornell said that he would get me to do that, and gave them a letter to that effect. It was settled between them on what night they should surrender the place; and Don Pedro put himself in ambush with his armoured horse half a mile off. The Saracen came out, and told them to send twenty men, good knights or others, whom he could get into two towers, and that the rest should be ready to come when they raised a shout or made signal by fire.

CXCI.

Thither went the twenty esquires in armour, with (*perpuntes*) their quilted coats and their breast-plates (*gonios*), and their iron caps, with swords, but without lances, which they could not well wield within the towers. They went in, and as they entered they were taken into a house where there were thirty Saracens, who seized and bound them as they entered. Three of the esquires who saw what treachery was being done, drew their swords and ascended the staircase of the tower; the Saracens pursued, but could not overtake them. They got on to the top of the tower and defended it well, raising a cry for help. Those in ambush heard them and ran to their help. While the Saracens of Almaçora fought with them the knights and people in ambush came up. On their way thither they found a beam the Saracens had cut to make an "algarada," for which, however, it did not answer; they got over the moat of the town, and putting the beam against the tower climbed up by it with the help of leather belts which those on the tower let down, so that the Saracens could not defend the tower. When the Saracens saw that, they got out of the tower and fled; but many were taken, and besides all their goods and stores. So was Almaçora taken.

CXCII.

Then I went again to Burriana, and after two months' stay there returned to Aragon and Catalonia. Next summer I returned to Burriana, and there were with me my uncle Don Fernando, the Bishop of Lerida, Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Exemen de Urrea, Hugh de Muntlaur, Master of the Temple, Hugh de Fuylalquer, Master of the Hospital. It was agreed that a raid should be made against Alcira and Cullera; and I resolved that two "fonevols" we had at Burriana should be got ready, though secretly, so that no one in the world should know of it. So that if the army wanted "fonevols" they would be ready without having to send for them. I accordingly had them put into a barque well and secretly. When we got to Cullera we encamped before the town, between the river Xucar and the castle. All the Saracens from the farms, all cows, asses, and goats, had been previously put into the place; the hill-side below the castle down to the town at the bottom, whence they drew water, swarmed with women, children, and cattle.

CXCIII.

When my men saw that, most of them said: "Saint Mary! if we had but a 'fonevol'! we could

"kill them all from the top of that hill, and take the "town before three days were over." At vespers the Bishop of Lerida, my uncle Don Fernando, and the barons came to my tent to see me, and have some pastime. They drew me aside, and sending away the servants said: "My lord, what do you think of this place?" I said: "So help "me God! I think it could be taken if there were "here any one to do it." They replied: "Here are "those who will do it, together with you, if only "they had the necessary appliances for a siege." I said: "What appliances do you want?" They said: "A 'fonevol' is much needed." I then said to them: "Do you really mean that we could take that town if we only had a 'fonevol'?" They said it could be so done. I replied: "If that be the case I will give you two." They asked: "Where have you got them?" I said: "Lo! in the 'grau,'[1] there they are in a barge." They said: "Then you guessed what was likely to happen?" I said: "I did guess, and lucky is he who guesses, not he "who has to find out." They said: "Now tell us what you think we should do." I replied: "It is first "necessary to consider where the machines should

[1] Grau. Many towns on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, like Valencia itself, are a mile or two from the sea, on which is their landing place, "grau" (the Latin "gradus," stairs). The object of such *graus* was more safety, than convenience, for the place itself, from the sudden attacks of corsairs, who must leave their ships to get at it.

"be placed. I will go up the hill with thirty of "my mounted followers; and do you give me one "knight of yours; and we will look out for a place "for the machines." They said: "You have spoken well."

CXCIV.

In the morning at sunrise, after hearing mass, I sent straightway for Don Pedro Cornell and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and with my thirty men went up the hill from the sea side. When we got to the spot above the castle, where there were once two towers, we left our horses, put on our armour, went down the hill, and got close to the castle within point-blank crossbow-shot. There I carefully examined the spot, and found it a convenient one for placing both the "fonevols." I saw that they could be very easily set up, screened, and guarded from the enemy, for there was in the castle no "algarada" or other engine to prevent it. When I had seen and considered the spot, I descended again and sent for the barons. I went to the tent of the Bishop of Lerida, En Bernard, to see him and hold a council there; it was Saint John's day. I told the assembly how the thing could be done, how we could batter the tower from that place; even if a stone missed and did not hit the mark, it would fall on the side of the tower, full of women, children, and cattle. When they saw the thing could be done, the greater part

of them asked what they should do for stones for the engines, as there were none on the banks of the Xucar, and they must be brought from far away. I said, "I know three ways; let us see which is "the best for us to get them: one is, to send to "Riu Sech, and for that a hundred knights with "horses in armour will be needed, besides five "hundred footmen. Another way is to send down "to the river Bayren, but for that again a consider-"able force will be required, lest the Saracens "should hinder our getting the stones on board "ship. The other plan is to have here stone "cutters for them to cut the stone out of this hill "into shape for 'brigoles' or 'trabuquets.'"

CXCV.

Then I asked Don Fernando, "What do you say to that?" And he said, "My lord, I must "first deliberate on it; take no offence; I will "presently be here again before you." After deliberating Don Fernando came back, and spoke for all the rest, as it had been previously agreed. He said: "My lord, in what you have said to us "we see a great difficulty, for reasons we will "tell you. It were not well that you undertook "anything that you did not achieve; in the "whole camp there is not food for more than five "days; Valencia is not yours, but of the Saracens;

"should the sea become boisterous and bad, the "ships could not bring supplies, and if they do "not, you will have to raise this siege. To bring "stones from such a distance, against so great "forces of the enemy, is not an easy thing to "do; there is not a single stone-cutter in the "camp, nor are there in Burriana so many as the "engines will require, if they are to be supplied "with stones, nor have you in this kingdom of "Valencia any other place whence they can be "supplied." Perceiving that all were of that mind, I had to yield and agree to what they said.

CXCVI.

Next day accordingly the siege was raised, and we went before Cilla, where we took up quarters, for there was plenty of wood and good pasture in the neighbourhood. After sleeping the siesta, I sent for the Master of the Hospital, and for Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea, and spoke in secret with them; there was no one in the room but me and they. I said: "I sent "for you because it seems to me as if we are "going badly out of this land, with so great an "army as we have, and with only twenty or thirty "prisoners. The Saracens will hold us in little "worth, and so will the Christians; but if you will "help me well I will show you how we can do a

"good deed. I am alone in proposing a thing, and "you are all against me, I can do nothing. When "I have ended my speech, and Don Fernando "has also spoken, do you not wait for the others, "but let each of you declare that you approve of "what I have said. I will show you that we can in "that wise get great gain and honour. These "Valencian towers here before us are like eyes to "a man; they save Valencia from the hurt that "many times it would get. Here is the tower of "Muntcada, which is one of the best towers in the "whole 'huerta.'[1] When we passed close to it there "remained inside only the men-at-arms, for the "women and children had all taken shelter in "Valencia. As they did not completely evacuate "the farms when we passed by, and we did not "then assail them, they will not expect us to attack "them on our return; the women and children will "have come back; we can take the place in eight "days, and besides prisoners we shall take more "or less of their chattels and provisions. Now I "will tell you how to take the place."

CXCVII.

"I will go down to Burriana and will get rations "for the whole army for eight days, against a "hundred prisoners the army shall give me, chosen

[1] Orta, from the Latin hortus, huerto, huerta.

"out of those in the tower [of Muntcada], where I "believe a thousand or more can be taken; I will "also bring a 'fonevol' from Burriana.[1] For that "I want no more time than a day to go, a day to get "the rations, and on the third day I will be back to "you with the supplies and the 'fonevol.' And "so when we leave this place we shall leave with "honour to myself and to you; and when we come "back another time they will not dare to abide our "visit in the towers of Valencia." Thereupon the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer, said, "So help me God! our lord the king has a "good plan, and we must help him in it; I tell you "for my part that I will help him as much as I can." When Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea heard this, they said they held it for good and noble counsel; but how would I do it? Certainly I would have Don Fernando and some of the others against it. I said, "With my own power "and with the help you will give me, my wish "will ultimately prevail."

CXCVIII.

I accordingly sent for Don Fernando, Don Rodrigo Liçana, the Master of the Temple, En

[1] I presume that the somewhat obscure text means as above, that the king would get the rations against the promise of delivering to him a hundred Saracen slaves to be taken in Muntcada. He has just said the army had not yet taken more than twenty or thirty.

Hugh de Muntlaur, the Bishop of Lerida, and the other barons of Aragon and Catalonia, as well as for some other knights who were there, all good and honourable men, well skilled in arms. And I sent away those who were first with me, that the others might not know that I had spoken with them. They returned, however, when the others had come. I arranged the council round the tent, and said to them, "Barons, we came here to do "hurt to the Saracens; and if we now leave the "country, so great a company as is here having done nothing but taking sixty prisoners, men and "women together, I will not go away with honour "to myself or to you. And it seems to me that we "could make a good capture, and do great damage "to Valencia, and that with God's aid I ought not "to fail in it." They asked what my plan was. I said, "The tower of Muntcada is a very good one; "there are great riches in it; on the road to Valencia "there is no better tower except Quart. In case of "need we can send to Burriana for anything we "want, which they of Valencia cannot stop, for we "shall be between them and Burriana. Let us go "to-morrow to besiege it in God's name; we will "take it and get there great gain and honour, for "that within a league of Valencia we take such a "tower as that is. Now, say what you think, the "enterprise seems to me a good one."

CXCIX.

All told Don Fernando to speak first, and Don Fernando said, "It seems indeed a good thing if it "can be done; but there are no supplies with the "army, and without supplies we cannot endure "or support the labour of taking a tower like that "of Muntcada." I said, "If you had supplies, would you do it?" Don Fernando replied, "Let "the barons here and the Masters of the Orders "say; for me I will agree to what the others "agree to." The Master of the Hospital asked the Master of the Temple to speak; and the latter said, "My opinion is that the plan is good, "if the army has enough provisions; but it seems "plain to me that this place, the tower of Muntcada, "is too near the towers of Valencia." I said, "Master, those towers are not here."[1] He said, "It seems to me you should first take Torres "Torres, which is also a good tower, and on the "road from Teruel to Valencia." I said, "Master, "Torres Torres is a good tower, but Muntcada is "as good as seven Torres Torres, and it will be "to our great honour if we take such a place as

[1] I suppose the Master meant that Muntcada tower was dangerously near the great fortress of Valencia; and that the king's answer meant that it was not near enough to be an obstacle. The new edition gives the king's answer thus: "Maestre en esta terra no ha turchs," probably for torres, as in other editions.

"this so near Valencia; and it can be easier done, "for though Torres Torres is a stronger place, yet "this one is more worth for honour and gain." On this the Master of the Hospital said, "The "words the King has said are good, and since he "has this good will to win the place, let it not "stay for us, and let us help him to win it." Don Exemen de Urrea said, "My lord, what you have "said is good, and if you will give us what will keep "us till you take it, it is my advice that you do it." "And I also agree," said Don Pedro Cornell, "with "what the Master has replied to you, and with Don "Exemen de Urrea." I then asked the Bishop of Lerida what he had to say; and he answered, "You "others understand fighting; I came here to serve "God and the King; what you do, I will do." I asked Don Rodrigo Liçana to speak; and he said: "My lord, since you desire it, and I see that all, or "the greater part, desire it and advise you to it, I "will do what you wish; but you already know how "the Moors defend their fortresses; it were not fit "for you to begin a thing you did not accomplish."

CC.

Thereupon I replied to Don Rodrigo Liçana and to the others: "I will tell you what I will do; I "will take up quarters near the tower, and on the "morrow early I will attack the town. The Moors

"will defend it. In the defence they will no "doubt strive to hold the stockades, but our people "will break them down, and in this the Moors "will suffer heavy loss, for those who defend the "stockades will probably be their best men, and "those who are good for nothing will remain in "the tower and in the "albacar."[1] I will act in "the fight as I find things to go; if you and I see "that the place can easily be taken, I myself will "go down to Burriana with fifteen knights (it "were well that the whole force did not leave the "place). On the third day I will be back with the "almaianech,[2] or battering engine, and rations for "eight days." All approved what I said, with this condition, that they should give me a hundred prisoners for my share—it was calculated that more than a thousand would be taken—and that I should have the choice of them, to repay the outlay of taking the tower. They saw that I was reasonable in what I asked, and agreed to it.

CCI.

In the morning after mass the esquires and many of the knights put on their armour, and began the attack on the side next the camp. They soon

[1] Albacar, space between the tower or keep and an outer wall, (bailey?).

[2] Almaianech, or rather Almanganec, in Arabic منجان, is a war engine for battering walls; both are derived from the Latin *machina*.

forced their way into the tower. All the best Moors were at the stockades, and on forcing them seven or eight of the bravest were killed, for my people so pressed on them that they could not get into the tower or the "albacar" (bailey).

When near the "albacar," I saw the Saracens defending themselves badly and without spirit; I called to the masters [of the Orders] and some of the barons, and said, "Seems it to you that I should go to Burriana, and that these people can be taken?" They all assented. I said, "Then order your men "to send me all the mules they have, and they shall "come back to you loaded with everything you "want."

I took with me only twelve knights. When close under Murviedro, I waited for the mules, and displayed my banners, and in a body we passed by the sea-shore, and went along it to Burriana. It was about vespers when I entered Burriana. Before I ate my dinner I bespoke bread, wine, barley, and sheep in sufficient quantity according to the list of rations which the barons, the masters, and the bishop had given me of what each of them required.

CCII.

Next day at sunrise I ordered the rations to be sent in, and I spent all that day receiving them. The following day I left Burriana in battle array, at

the head of my knights, in armour, of which there might be twelve or fifteen. I passed near Murviedro, and at vespers got back to the Tower of Muntcada with the "fonevol," so that before the stars came out at night the "fonevol" was set up behind a house, and during the night we put the cords to it, so that next day at half tierce,[1] the engine began to batter the tower. So great was the crowd of women, children, cows and other cattle, in the "albacar" (bailey), that the stones thrown by the "fonevol" killed many of those inside. And as the "fonevol" battered without ceasing by day and night, the stench of the dead cattle was so great that on the fifth day the Moors of Muntcada surrendered the tower and themselves as prisoners. There were taken out one thousand one hundred and forty-seven of them; with much good and fine silken and cotton cloth, pearl, necklaces, gold and silver bracelets, rich silks, and many other valuable stuffs; so that what with the prisoners and the goods, the spoil amounted to a hundred thousand besants.[2] I had with me at this time some Saracens from Valencia; one hundred prisoners were chosen for me as had been agreed; one of the Moors standing by and pointing out to me which to take.

[1] That is about eight o'clock.

[2] An old gold coin struck at Byzantium.

CCIII.

It was then determined to demolish the tower, and remain two days there for that purpose, and then leave for Museros, another tower, intending to batter it with the "fonevol," and storm it, unless immediately surrendered. The tower of Muntcada was accordingly demolished, and the whole force went to Museros and laid siege to the tower there. I began by setting up the "fonevol" against it, having previously ascertained from a Saracen of the place, whom an almogavar of mine had taken prisoner, that Zaen, the King of Valencia, had ordered that sixty men should stay to defend the tower, whilst the women, children, and the rest, should go into Valencia, which they had done. Next day the "fonevol" began to batter the tower, when three or four of its battlements were carried away. At night the Moors put baskets full of earth, that if our stones hit they might not injure the roof of the tower. But as we had arrows in the shape of spindles, which I had caused to be made, lighted tow was put on them, the crossbows shot these arrows at the baskets filled with earth, and set them on fire. On the third day the Saracens saw that their arts were of no avail; they parleyed for a surrender on condition of saving their lives. I agreed to that, for I would rather have them alive than dead.

CCIV.

When I had the prisoners, there came to me En Guillem Çaguardia, the uncle of En Guillem Aguiló, then a prisoner of the Moors in Valencia, and he prayed me very humbly that as his nephew was captive, I would give him sixty Saracens from Museros, for he believed that against those sixty he could get En Guillem Aguiló exchanged. With the consent of the barons I assented to this, on condition that if he (En Guillem) could not get his nephew in exchange for them, the army should have the prisoners again. He kissed my hand for the favour, going away very content, and forthwith sent a Christian, who could enter Valencia safely, to see if they would give up En Guillem de Aguiló for those sixty prisoners from Museros. The Valencians agreed to the bargain, and immediately after En Guillem de Aguiló was exchanged for the sixty prisoners from Museros.

CCV.

When that was done I went to Torres Torres to take up quarters. Before I got past Alventosa, they gave me for the hundred Moorish prisoners I had with me no less than seventeen thousand

besants. I would have got thirty thousand[1] had I kept them a month more; but I had to give them up for such a small sum owing to the merchants pressing me for payment of what I had borrowed from them. I therefore paid that debt and some others, and went to Zaragoza and thence to Huesca.

CCVI.

From Huesca I went through my own country towards Sariñena; I had resolved to take a castle the Moors called Enesa, and the Christians the Puig (hill) of the Onion (Cebolla); now it is called Puig de Santa Maria. I was much puzzled as to what baron of my dominions I should leave in it, when the place was taken. I reflected that men rise in praise and in worth only by good deeds, and that I ought to entrust so great a place as that was to some one who loved me well, and in whom I trusted. And as Don Bernard Guillem de Entença was my uncle on the mother's side, and he had got much from me, I resolved to entrust the Puig to him rather than to any other man, when God gave it to us. On the road I drew him aside and said to him: "Don Bernard Guillem, "you are a man whom I love and trust; you are

[1] The edition of 1515 and the new one say 30,000; that of 1557, xix milia, probably a misprint.

"very near of kin to me, and I would raise you "and give you plenty, that you may do me such "service that all men may say that I bestowed "well what I gave you. Now I have thought of "something in which you can serve me well, and "for which I shall be bound to do you great good "for the service you will have done to me." He returned great thanks to me and kissed my hand for the favour I promised him, and begged me to say what service it was. I said that my intention was to go and besiege the Puig de la Cebolla, which was only two leagues from Valencia, and when I had taken it to put him there, with a hundred knights, as an advanced post. I told him how the castle was on a hill, and was good, and strong, and well built; that I would give him provisions for a year, and all the winter he should keep the outposts there for me. When summer came I would be there, and would lay Valencia waste; and with the damage done by the raids and the waste I should do, I would have it ripened like a fruit fit for eating. And when that was done, the time would come for besieging Valencia, for it was already distressed for food. I would then send for all barons of my kingdoms, and for the men of the towns, to come to help in the siege of Valencia, and with God's help we would take it. "When Valencia is taken (I said), all the kingdom, as far as Xativa, will be ours."

CCVII.

When Don Bernard heard that proposal of mine, he spoke not and answered nothing, but stood a long time doubting. And when I saw that he doubted about what I had said to him, I added, "Don Bernard Guillem, do not doubt that the "proposal I have made to you is very good; keep "it secret between you and me, and let no man in "the world know of it till I have prepared the "means of executing it. Accept what I offer you "and let it content you well, for of two things one "cannot fail; if God lets you perform the service "I want you to do for Him and for me, I will "make you the most honoured man of my king-"dom; and if you die in God's service and mine, "Paradise cannot fail you, that you have it not. "For these two reasons, you should not have any "doubts whatever on the matter." On that he came up to me, kissed my hand, and said that he willingly accepted the gift I gave him; that my advice was good, inasmuch as he could not choose amiss either of the two things I had spoken of.

CCVIII.

Thereon I agreed with him that I would summon my army for next Easter, and I accordingly gave orders for the barons, the militia of the cities and

towns, to assemble. At the beginning of Lent men from Valencia came, and told me as certain that the castle of the Puig had been dismantled. When I heard that, it grieved me much; nevertheless I said to those who brought the news that no harm had been done, inasmuch as the case being, I would immediately build another castle whenever I went there with the army. I ordered twenty pairs of moulds for "tapia"[1] to be made secretly, so that no one in Teruel should know of it. On Easter Sunday I was in Teruel; and before the army came I began my preparations for departure. Don Exemen de Urrea came with me, and my household, Don Pedro Fernandez de Çagra, and the townsmen of Daroca and Teruel; before the others came I departed. As I was leaving Teruel, the army on the road saw the beasts carrying the "tapia" moulds. No one, however, in the army knew my secret, where I was going or where not. Before Xerica, whose fields were laid waste, Don Pedro Fernandez de Çagra and Don Exemen de Urrea came up to me after dinner, and said: "My "lord, what is this? They say you are carrying "moulds for 'tapia'; what do you intend doing with "them?" I said: "I will not return you an answer

[1] Boxes of board, into which the concrete for blocks of "tapia" was poured. Tapia is an Arabic word, طابية, meaning a cob wall (French, *pisé;* Spanish, *apisonado*), one made of unburnt clay mixed with sand or straw. The unburnt bricks are called in Spanish *adoves*, from the Arabic طوب, tob, with the article *at-tob*.

"before every one; if you send the others away, "I will explain, and tell you what it is and what "it is not."

CCIX.

When the others had gone away, I told them: "I have done this in great secresy, and I pray "and command you to keep it reserved till people "see for what purpose it is done. I have had "those moulds made because I wish to occupy "the Puig[1] now called Enesa, and which shall "henceforward be called the Puig de Santa Maria. "The Moors have pulled down the castle that "was once there, and I intend rebuilding it. When "it is rebuilt, I will leave there a good and well-"fortified outpost, whence we can make war on "the Moors until Valencia shall be so weakened "for want of supplies that we can besiege and "take it." They said: "You should have let us "know that; we would have been better pre-"pared with provisions and other things." I knew by their faces as well as by their speech, which they did not sufficiently dissemble, that my plan did not please them much. And I said to them: "Barons, let what I have done and will do "content you; for in this manner Valencia will be "conquered better than in any other way in the "world."

[1] Puig in Catalonian means a hillock; it is pronounced *puch*.

CCX.

Thereon, next day, I went to Torres Torres, and on the third day, after laying the country round waste, I left Torres Torres and passed by Murviedro over a hill there, and then I passed close to its castle, three or four crossbow-shots off. I gave the command of the vanguard to Don Exemen de Urrea; the men on foot were between him and me, and they kept the rearguard. When we were in the plain below and had passed Murviedro, Don Exemen de Urrea sent me a message to say that we were soon to have a battle; that Zaen, with all his power, was at Puçol, and that we ought to rejoice at it. My answer was that I was right glad it was so. Shortly after this the mule drivers and all those who were in the middle of the train took to the hills for fear of the Moors, save a few fighting men, who stood their ground. There were with me at the time the Master of the Hospital and the commanders of the Alcaniç and Castellon, fully two thousand men on foot, besides one hundred horse, those of Burriana, and fully thirty more horsemen in armour. I had moreover sent out some light troops on the road to Valencia, and placed them in ambush, so that should Zaen, the King of Valencia, come out, they might fight him to advantage. But Zaen did not come out. Those were the men Don Exemen saw.

CCXI.

When it was found that the armed men in the distance were my own people, it pleased me much. I went to the Puig, and set up my tent in the plain below the town, and took up quarters with great joy and content; those who had been in ambush joining the rest of the army. In a few days there came to me many barons, who had not come before; also the townsmen of Zaragoza, Daroca, and Teruel, who had remained behind. When they came I distributed to them, according to numbers, so many fathoms [of wall to build]; if they could get it done in fifteen days or three weeks they might go on their way; so they made good work, and yet the work lasted not less than two months.

CCXII.

All the time I was there several raids (*cavalcades*) were made. So full was the grace of God on us before the Puig, that no one who went out against the Saracens but returned to the camp with some plunder, more or less; no party that went forth was beaten by the enemy, so well did our Lord conduct them. And for the ships that came on the sea I had made a paved road or quay near the hill beside it, on which one could go to the sea when ships came with what the army wanted, and to bring up provisions.

CCXIII.

When I had been full three months waiting for Don Bernard Guillem de Entença to take charge of the place (I would not leave till he came), a message arrived by two knights Don Bernard sent, saying that he was at Burriana and wished to see me. When I heard their message I thought that Don Bernard had not brought his proper supplies. I was not in good health at the time, and said to the messengers, "For what does En Bernard "Guillem want me at Burriana? I can do more "for him here than I could at Burriana." They said, "Any how he begs you to go there." I replied, "I would willingly go, but I have been "ill, and it is now July; if I expose myself to the "heat, I fear that I shall get worse, so tell him to "come to me as well as he can, and risk it. He "can speak with me here better than he could "there." Thereupon the messengers went away, and Don Bernard came next day. When I knew that he was coming I went out to receive him. There came with him up to a hundred knights. When he met me he kissed my hand and I saluted him. When that was done, I asked how it was with him. He said, "Well." I said, "I see you "come well accompanied, but how is it with you "for provisions?" When I had said that he

replied, "Let us go within, and I will speak with you." As he said that, and did not give me an answer, I thought as we went along that he had not proper supplies with him. He told me that besides the knights then with him full sixty knights more were to come. When I heard that he had brought more knights than I had ordered him to bring, I concluded that all I had given him had been spent in enlisting his force.

CCXIV.

After hearing that I went in, and he dined. When he had eaten, and I had slept, I sent for him to come to me; he came, and said he wished to speak apart with me, where no one else was. I went aside, and he said to me: "I was unwilling "to answer the question you asked me about the "supplies, for I have spent on the knights the "greatest part of the money you gave me to buy "provisions." "How is that?" said I; "have "you not brought supplies to Burriana by land "or by sea? You must know that I have none "here; on the contrary, the barons in my camp "themselves are in great distress. That is the "reason why I am here waiting; for we have no "food, and if you have brought none, I can only "tell you that you have played me a sad trick." "I have," said he, "in Tortosa, three hundred

"'cafizes' of wheat,[1] Aragon measure, and fifty "hogs, but they are in pledge for fifteen hundred "sols." I said, "By God! Don Bernard Guillem, "a sad trick have you played me and yourself; "for, relying on you, I had made no preparations; "you cannot now keep your word to me, nor can "I to you. Things here are run so close that the "knights with me will not stay unless they have "food, nor will your own knights either. Know "for certain, that if it were not for your near kin- "ship to me, and that I love you so much, I know "no man in the world on whom I would not "revenge myself for what you done to me. If "this place is not held, perchance Valencia is lost "for ever; I shall never come again with so good "a chance of taking that city." I added, "Go "hence, and think of it this night; I will pray Our "Lord to give us good counsel, for certainly yours "is bad." And he left me.

CCXV.

In the morning, after considering what had better be done, I said to Don Bernard: "I see no way "but this; I will go to Burriana. Do you give me

[1] Cafizes of wheat; a "cafiz," or "cahíz," is about twelve English bushels. The word is Arabic, from قفيز. Cafiçada is the tract of land requiring one cafiz of wheat or other grain as seed. The Aragonese measure, however, seems to have been larger than that of Castile.

[2] Sols, about fifteen pounds of our English money.

"what mules (*atzembles*) you have with you, and "if I find any wheat there (beyond what the "inhabitants must have for bare sustenance) I will "send you all I can, and that must last you for "fifteen days. I will thence go to Tortosa, and "from Tortosa I will send you supplies for two months." I accordingly went to Burriana. When I was about to raise the camp, I found that a swallow had made her nest by the roundel on my tent; so I ordered the men not to take it down till the swallow had taken flight with her young ones, as she had come trusting in my protection.[1] They sent the mules after me, and I loaded them with bread, wine, and barley. I bought in the camp sheep, cows, and goats, which had been brought in by raids, and besides that, bespoke rations of meat for a month. I then left Burriana for Tortosa, and got there in two days. I loaded four vessels (*lenys*) with bread, wine, barley, and salt meat for two months, and sent all that to the people at the Puig.

CCXVI.

Leaving Tortosa, I went to Tarragona. As I was going into Tarragona, from the road above Vilaseca, I saw many masts in Salou. I stopped

[1] The original text of this pretty story is, "Una horeneta "havia fet un niu prop de la "scudella del tendal: e manam "que no levassen la tenda tro que "ella sen fos anada ab sos fills, "pus en nostra fe era venguda."

there all day, and in the morning, at dawn, I said to Fernando Perez de Pina, who was lying down near me, "Are you asleep?" He said, "No, my Lord." I said: "Something has occurred to "me which I think may be done in that matter "of the Puig. Yesterday, as I passed Vilaseca, "I saw masts in Salou; I believe they are loading "provisions for Mallorca. Get up at once; I will "give you two porters[1] to go with you. Take "possession of all, and tell the owners of the "vessels to come to me. Before you leave [Salou] "take note of all there is in writing, and bring away "the rudders and the sails of the vessels, that they "may not go away." Perez did what I said. The owners of the ships were brought before me, as well as an inventory of everything there was on board. I found I could give Don Bernard Guillem de Entença at the Puig rations of flour for three months, and of wine for six months, and that there was besides salt meat and barley for two months. I gave deeds to the merchants for what I should pay them. I then went to Lerida, and borrowed of the corporation (?) sixty thousand sols; with that I paid the merchants, and with the money that was over I sent people by sea to make up the rations of bread and wine. After that I went to Huesca.

[1] "Dos porters," ushers or alguasils (?).

CCXVII.

Being at Huesca, there came to me a messenger, a native of Huesca, name Guillem de Sales; he came by order of Don Bernard Guillem de Entença and of all the force I had left at the Puig; on their behalf he saluted me. The man had a wound in the face, and carried on it a bandage and lint. He began by asking me for a reward for good news (*albixires*).[1] I said to him that I would willingly give him reward according as his news was. He said: "The news is such as will please "and rejoice you. Here are letters from the barons "and knights you left at the Puig; they say that "Zaen with all the power he could raise from "Xativa to Onda, full six hundred knights and "forty thousand men on foot, came on such a day "very early, at sunrise, to attack the Puig; ten "horsemen, who had gone to explore the land "towards Valencia, hastily came back to the Puig, "and made it known to Don Bernard Guillem de Entença that Zaen was coming with all his army. "Thereon they heard mass and took the Sacrament, "those who had not taken it; and all in armour went "out of the Puig. They said, If we shut ourselves "up in the town it will be worse for us; we shall

[1] Albixires (in Spanish "albricias") comes from the Arabic بشاير, *rei lætæ et optatæ nuntii.* "Pedir albricias de una nueva buena," in Spanish, is to ask a reward for good news.

"be more easily taken than if we were outside.
"They, therefore, commended themselves to Our
"Lord, and determined on having battle.

CCXVIII.

"Meantime the Saracens came on, our vanguard
"being at once attacked by the footmen of the
"frontier of Xerica, Segorbe, Liria, and Onda;
"their best warriors were put foremost. Their
"horsemen with the rest of the foot got in our
"back, so that at their first onset our people had
"to give way. But then our men returned again
"down the hill and recovered the ground they had
"lost at first. The Saracens shouted and gained
"ground again, the Christians drawing off towards
"the castle hill. At this juncture there came a cry
"from the castle, from those who were looking on;
"they called out, Look at them; they will not
"resist.[1] When the knights heard that cry, they
"said, 'Shame to you, shame,' and all cried with
"one voice, 'Saint Mary!' and charged the enemy.
"Then the rearguard of the Moors began to fly;
"they were higher up the hill than the others, and
"fled. Then our vanguard attacked the Saracens
"and broke them. The battle was thus won, and
"the pursuit lasted as far as the Riu Seco, between
"Torgos and Valencia; many died smitten by the
"sword, others without a wound. Of ours there died

[1] "Vansen, Vansen e vencense."

"Ruiz Xemenez de Luziá, who on the first onset "went so far into the enemy's ranks that no one "saw him again till he was found dead. There "died also his son, the eldest son of Don Exemen "Perez de Terga,[1] and another who bore the pennon "of Don Bernard Guillem. There were besides "several knights wounded, who, however, did not "die of their wounds.

"When the knights and townsmen of Teruel "heard that the Christians had won the battle, but "had lost many knights, from seventy to eighty of "them mounted their horses and rode to the Puig, "where they arrived at tierce on the second day."

CCXIX.

I was at Huesca when I heard the news, and immediately made it known to the Orders. I myself went to the cathedral, knelt before Jesus of Nazareth, and had a *Te Deum Laudamus* sung by the bishop and canons. I then went to Daroca, and sent a message to all the chivalry of the place to come to me. I also sent for the principal men of the town and the heads of the villages, and had them before me. When in my presence I prayed and commanded them to have a thousand mules within five days at Teruel, without fail. They said that since God had hitherto guided me so well

[1] Elsewhere Triergua.

and I wished it, they would do it. I then went to Teruel, and sent round the villages, in the same way, to bid them come to me and have within three days a thousand mules equipped for carrying provisions to the Puig. They said they would do anything I might order, but that eighty horsemen from Teruel were already there at the Puig, where I would find them. I then prayed Fernandez Diez to lend me wheat to load the two thousand mules with. He said he would do it; they would send round the villages and bring the wheat to Sarrio; they would also meet us on the road and not make us wait. I started with my own train of retainers and a hundred horsemen besides, and I reached the Puig, taking up my quarters at the Alcubles. While I was there some one came to me and said that Zaen, King of Valencia, was at Liria with all his power, and would give us battle. I said to the man, "Let him come if he dare, for I shall certainly go on." I left the Alcubles, and with our loaded mules and armoured horses went up to the Puig with spread banners. Don Berenguer de Entença and the knights of the Orders who were there, came out to receive me, with En Guillem de Aguiló and the others. I rejoiced much with them, and they with me, over the good fortune that had befallen us. All, however, could not come out to receive me, for they had lost no less than eighty-six horses in the last battle.

CCXX.

Then I sent a message to En Exemen Perez of Tarragona, who was at that time my lord high steward for all the kingdom of Aragon,[1] to send me sixty horses, none to cost more than a hundred "morabitins." At this time there came to me at the Puig, Don Artal de Alagon[2] and Don Pedro Cornell; they came because they had got my message to come to me at the Puig. From them I got word that the horses I had sent for were already at Teruel; and I said to Don Bernard Guillem, Don Bernard de Entença, En Guillem Aguiló and the other knights who were at the Puig, that I would before they left the castle replace all the horses they had lost, for which they gave me great thanks; moreover, that I would give up to them one-fifth of all the spoils, because of their good behaviour in the last battle; for all which they returned me thanks, saying they knew and acknowledged that I had done them great grace. I then sent word to those who were bringing the horses, and who were at Teruel, to bring them to Segorbe; but as they dared not bring the horses except under the escort of horsemen, I myself went to Segorbe

[1] Reboster maior; in Spanish, *repostero mayor* was the chief steward in the king's household.

[2] Alagó is the true Provençal, or Catalonian, form of this proper name, which in Aragon and Castile is written *Alagon*. The same remark applies to Corneil, Cornell, &c.

with a party. When I had been a day at Segorbe the barons arrived with the horses. I prayed and ordered them to tell the men not to sell their horses too dearly because I had such need of them, but meet us fairly. I would pay for them what they were worth and more. They said they would willingly do it. I then spoke with the knights, carefully examined the horses I wanted, and bought forty-six of them which cost me sixty thousand sols, thus making up eighty-six with those I had sent for to Aragon. The nobles then returned to Aragon, and I remained with fourteen knights.

CCXXI.

After that I returned to the Puig by way of Murviedro. When I was near Murviedro I proposed passing it by the hill above the castle, not more than two crossbow shots off; some of my people saying that it would be better to go by the valley of Segon. But a knight, whose name I do not remember at the present moment, said that I should pass over the hill, we could very well get past before they made us out. His opinion seemed to me the best; and I said to them: "Do you as I say. I "have here no pennon or banner, but I have a "horse-cloth, let us make a banner of it, and put "ourselves and the horses into a clump. We will "carry our lances, shields, and iron caps, and will

"go on the side between the horses and the castle, "so close to the horses that they will think we are "in greater number than we really are." So it was done, all who were with me agreeing as to that. And as we passed by, full a thousand Saracens came out on the hill-side of Murviedro, with five horsemen; they shouted and hooted, but dared not come near us. So by God's will I got past [Murviedro] and reached the Puig. The day I got there I divided the eighty-six horses among those who had lost theirs.

CCXXII.

When that was done I took leave of Don Bernard Guillem de Entença, Don Guillem Aguiló, and the knights; they came out with me as far as Puçol, whence I made them go back, for I would not leave the Puig without a garrison to defend it. I left there also the horses of four or five knights who came with me. I went that day to Burriana: it was a fast day. After dinner En Guillem Aguiló came all dismayed. I said, "How come you, in such dismay?" He said he had come by sea in a vessel. I asked if it was well with those at the Puig. He said, "Yes, right well; but when I left "them they said there was stirring news at the "place." Don Pedro Cornell was with us. One of my suit then inquired: "What news was there?" En Guillem answered: "At the Puig they said that

"Zaen would be there to-morrow morning with all "his power." I and all with me then said: "How "can that be? We left [the Puig] this very morn- "ing, when there was not a word of that." En Guillem replied: "I know for truth Zaen knew of "your departure the moment you left the Puig, and "that all the Saracens as far as Castellon[1] and Con- "centayna have been gathered together. As soon "as the Saracens knew that you had left the Puig "they would surely come down: so was the talk "in the garrison." I and all the others held it for nought; we believed that it could not be, and took no heed of the news.

CCXXIII.

At midnight there was a very hard knocking at the gate of the town: the porter came in to me and said, "Some one knocks very hard at the gate "of the town; he is on horseback, and says he "wishes to speak with you." I told him to open the gate; then Don Pedro Cornell came to me, and I said to him, "Now we shall hear if the news brought by En Guillem de Aguiló be true or not." Don Pedro Cornell said, "By my faith, I fear so!" And without delay Sancho de Mora entered with his purpoint or quilted coat on, with his sword girt, and his head uncovered, for he had taken his iron

[1] Castalla, in the new edition.

cap off; and he said: "My lord, God preserve "you! By order of Don Bernard Guillem de "Entença I come here with a message to Don "Pedro Cornell, for he would not send word to "you direct." Don Pedro Cornell said, "What is the message?" He said: "He sends me to "tell you that Zaen with all his power will be to-"morrow morning at the Puig, and that he must give "him battle. If Don Bernard saw you in such "a plight, he would not fail you, and therefore he "prays you to come to his succour." I said, "Battle?" He said, "Yes, my lord, surely they will be there this morning." On that, Don Pedro Cornell said: "My lord, I will tell you what to "do; we will accompany you as far as the Grau "of Oropesa, after which you have nothing to fear. "If you go at once, I shall be the sooner back for "the battle; since Don Bernard Guillem has sent "for me, I will not fail him." And I said: "By "the faith I owe to God and to you, Don Pedro "Cornell, it shall not be so; it was I who left my "people at that place; they stayed there relying on "God and on me, and as I am near them, they "shall not fight a second battle without me." Don Pedro replied: "My lord, do not do so; that is "not for you to do; you ought to send us to such "things as these are, and not go yourself." I said: "Know, Don Pedro Cornell, that for nothing in "the world will I not go; leave that talk, for

"nothing shall persuade me." And to that some one observed, "It well beseems a king not to abandon his vassals so covertly." I heard all what they said about it. Don Alaman de Sadaua was ill in Burriana; he had a good steed; I sent one of my own people to him to ask him to lend it to me, as I had to go back to the Puig for the battle; he gladly lent it to me.

CCXXIV.

I took horse at midnight, and went along the sea shore. I had my chaplain with me, and when I had got past Almenara, I said I would hear mass and would confess, lest I had forgotten any sins, and that all of us should take the Sacrament. I heard mass, and every one who chose took the Sacrament. As I went along, Don Fortuny Lopez de Sadaua (who was a good knight, and had a habit of calling every one he liked "nephew") came up to me, and said: "My lord, what do you think will become of us to-day?" "By my faith," said I, "to-day the flour will be sifted from the bran!" Then he embraced me, and said, "God give us good luck!" When I was near the river at Murviedro, Don Martin Perez (he who was afterwards Justicia of Aragon) came to me, and said: "My lord, you "should send two knights to the Puig to know "what news there is or is not, and how things

"are." I said, "Do you go then." He said, "Give me someone to accompany me, and I will go." I gave him a companion, and he went; and before we got within a half a league of the Puig, he came at full speed to me. When I saw him come in that way I thought what I had heard was truth, and said, "What news bring you?" He said, "Good; all is well with them at the "Puig, and there is no truth in what they told "you."

CCXXV.

When I got to the Puig I held council with Bernard Guillem de Entença and others about making a foray in the plain of Valencia. I sent out "adalils" [1] for that purpose, fifty horsemen; and they brought in Saracens, about twelve men and fifty women, who had gone out of the city, some for wood, and others for food. When they came I asked them if the Saracens had made any other gathering to come against the Puig; I asked this of each separately that they might not concert their answer. They said that there was no gathering but of the people of the town. When I heard that, I said to my knights that I intended to go away, for certainly my going was better than my staying there waiting for

[1] Adalils is the plural of دليل (dalil), with the article *ad-dalil*, which Spaniards write *adalid*, having turned the final *l* into *d*. It is, properly speaking, the leader or guide of an army, and comes from دلّ, to guide.

the enemy. I could do better, I said, sending them help for their wants from Catalonia and Aragon, than by remaining with them. That day each of our knights before parting gave to a friend [at the Puig], some their iron caps, and some their good lances if they had any, and I myself departed for Burriana. I told Don Bernard Guillem to turn back from the hamlet[1] called Puçol, and he at my command turned back. Don Bernard de Entença said that he had to speak with me, and he followed me to near the river of Murviedro. He had with him about twelve knights, all of whom had horses, arms, and quilted coats (*perpunts*), and who turned back with him.

CCXXVI.

When he had left me and I had crossed the river near the beginning of the marsh that goes to the sea, Miguel Garces, who was of Navarre, and has now settled in Sariñena, and the scouts (*troters*) who went before the host called, "To arms!" Don Pedro Cornell, who heard the cry, seized his arms and spurred forward; but I bethought myself, took his rein and said: "What is "it, Don Pedro Cornell? is that the war-call of "Xea?[2] Do you wait here, and let us see first what "it is before you are carried away by your ardour."

[1] *Alqueria*, from القرية, which means the hamlet or village.

[2] "Que sera, don Pero Cornell? es apelido de Xea aço?"

There were then with me Don Exemen de Foces, Don Ferran Perez de Pina, and Don Fortuny Lopez de Çadava.[1] Between my own men, those of Don Pedro Cornell, and those of Don Exemen de Foces, we might be fully seventeen. Don Fortuny Lopez had only a helmet (*barbuda*[2]), which he put on his head, and a scarlet robe[3] (*garnatxa*), which he put on his body; he rode a mule and carried a lance; we had no horses in armour, only our quilted coats (*perpunts*), our iron caps, and lances. Meantime our scouts (*troters*) drew off towards the sea as if they wished to get shelter in a barque, in which Don Guillem de Aguiló was going off.

CCXXVII.

Presently there came two muleteers,[4] and I asked what they carried; they said seven suits of armour for man and horse. I ordered them to unload them at once, and to arm horses with them. A

[1] Sadaua?

[2] Forepart of a helmet covering the cheeks, the mouth, and the chin, in Spanish "babera." In the *Exposicio des vocables oscurs*, at the beginning of the edition of 1557, the meaning is given as, "armadura de cap feyta a barbelleres."

[3] "Guarnaja es armadura de cos llaugera feyta de malla," or what was then called "coat of mail"; but I suspect that the interpreter mistook "guarnage," or "guarnatxe," which might well mean a mail-coat, for "garnatxe," sorte d'habit long, ou manteau, whence the Spanish *garnacha;* i.e. granacha, a scarlet robe still used by men of law.

[4] Adzemblers; in Spanish, "azemileros," from *azemila*, ازمالة, a beast of burden.

knight, whose name I do not remember, said, "Why do you not send for Don Berenguer de Entença? he could still come in good time." I ordered Domingo de Fraga, one of my own porters, to go for him and tell him to come as soon as he could, since he saw how it stood with us. While they were arming the horses I put on a "gonio,"[1] and iron footpieces on my feet; but while I had put on the right one, one of my people came up running and said, "Lo! here come the Saracens!" I threw the shoe from my leg, saying: "It matters not whether my feet are protected or not, if my body and the horse are armoured." I rode forward; the enemy were preparing to charge us; I reckoned there might be a hundred and thirty horsemen,[2] between Don Artal de Alagon and his company, and the Saracens. I did not know certainly that Don Artal was there.[3] Before I armed myself, the Saracens had taken Miquel Garces and an ass which carried the bed of Don Exemen de Foces;[4] that was when I caused Don Pedro Cornell to stop. I had scarcely mounted my horse when a knight, who bore the pennon of Don Pedro Cornell,

[1] The original reads "*gōyjo*," which I believe to be a misprint for *gonio*. See above, p. 136, note 1.

[2] "E caualcam al cauall, e els "(les?) altres foren dreçats per "venir contra nos, e asmauemlos "que eren be CXXX a cauall, "entre Don Artal Dalago e sa "companya e els sarrahins," says the text.

[3] "E nos no sabiam que Don Artal Dalago hi fos," says the text of all the editions.

[4] Written Fosses.

and carried it behind me, was thus addressed by Don Fortuny Lopez de Sadava,[1] "Blockhead that "you are! bear the pennon before the king, and "not at his back." And the knight accordingly set the pennon before me. Then Don Ferran Perez de Pina said: "The enemy are many, and you are here "with few men; there is nothing to be done for us, "but to put ourselves forward and die; there is no "help for it unless we go back to the Puig." I said to him: "Don Ferran Perez, that will I not "do, I never fled before the enemy yet, nor know "I how to fly; but this I say, that whatever God "orders for my lot, that will I share with them." I took post on a hillock. The Saracens turned about twice to attack me; but Our Lord willed it that they should not come, and I got away from them. A month after this some one said that Don Artal [was with the Saracens], and knew that I was there, and forbade them to attack me. But it was not so, for Miquel Garces who was their prisoner had not been taken to him yet, and I had no ensign or banner by which they could know me except perhaps that of Don Pedro Cornell.

[1] Fortuny Lopis de Sadaua. See above, p. 336. The words translated by Blockhead, &c., are thus given in the original: "Baueca "dom metets lo peno dauant "lo Rey e nol tengate a les "epalles." Baueca is for Babieca, the name of the horse belonging to the Cid. In the *Exposicio des vocables oscurs* the word baueça is thus explained: "En lo capit. "65 baueça es dit bastia, e home "fat y de poch saber."

Afterwards, when the thing was over, I believe that Miquel Garces really told them that I was there. Meanwhile, the enemy saw Don Bernard de Entença coming, whereupon after crossing the olive grounds and fig gardens of the valley of Segon, they moved slowly to Almenara, and I was really glad when I saw them go away.

CCXXVIII.

Just as the Saracens began to retreat, Don Bernard arrived; I asked him to go with me, and he said he would, gladly; and that he would not part from me till such a time at Burriana. I expected the people of La Rapita to come out to me, but they did not. When I got to Burriana, Don Pedro Cornell asked me to eat and rest there all day. I said, "Don Pedro Cornell, those are not "the ways of war; through resting man sometimes "loses much; by my faith I say I will not eat or "drink to-night till I reach Orpesa." He asked why not? "For this reason," said I; "should the Sara- "cens during this night have gone on to the Grau of "Orpesa; they would overtake us altogether in the "morning, and destroy us. But surely they cannot "yet have passed there, so as to be between us and "that town. Let us, then, go on to Orpesa, and "sleep there; thence we can go on in safety. Let "Don Berenguer return and march all night; he

"has nothing to fear from the enemy; they will not "attend to his movements as they will to mine." So he [Don Pedro] took his leave, and went away.[1]

CCXXIX.

I then ordered that none of our men should stay in the town, but should follow me; only I, Don Pedro Cornell, and Pere Palasi left the town.[2] When I had crossed the river Millars, a cross-bowman came at a gallop on horseback with his quilted coat (*perpunt*) on, his iron cap on his head, and his crossbow bent. Pere Palasi said, "See what a cavalier comes scampering towards us!" I and Don Pedro Cornell were going towards the cavalier, when Pere Palasi said, "I will go myself; it is not for you to do that." We stopped, and Palasi asked the man why he came galloping in that manner, and with his crossbow bent as if he meant to shoot at us. He said, "My lord, I am a dead man." I asked him, "How is that?" He said, "Aben Lop had lain in "ambush for the commander of Orpesa at the hill "on this side of the Grau, and has taken the com-"mander prisoner." I said, "Were you with the "commander?" He said, "Yes, my lord, I was." "And how is it," said I, "that you dare come

[1] "E pres nostre comiat e anasen."

[2] "E nos manam que nul hom "nostre no romangues en la vila "e quens seguissen, e no exim de "la vila sino nos don P. Cornell, "e P. Palasi." What town? Oropesa? The passage, on the whole, is anything but clear.

"here when your lord is a prisoner, and that you "come with your crossbow bent, and turned towards "me as if you wanted to kill me? You had better "shoot at the Saracens than at me. You timid boy,[1] "how could you thus desert your lord? If you were "taken prisoner you would get out of captivity for "one hundred and fifty sols, or for two hundred sols "at the most; and you have deserted him on the "field! By Christ, you never did so bad a deed in "all your life; dismount at once from the horse." He said, "My lord, why am I to dismount?" I said, "For what you have done." I then took from him his horse, his quilted coat (*perpunt*), his iron cap, and his crossbow, and left him only his cassock[2] (*gonella*), and he had to come after us on foot.

CCXXX.

When I had gone a mile (*miller*) from the river, I waited for my train. When it had joined me, we all went in a body to the Grau, and took up quarters there, it being already dark when we got to Orpesa. I had brought from Burriana meat, bread, and wine. We ate, laid down, and slept till morning; in the morning I heard mass; the place belonged then to the Hospital. That day I went to Ulldecona, and entered Tortosa the next day. I then sent requisitions round the towns of Aragon and Catalonia,

[1] "Bacallar pudent."

[2] "Gonelle" in old French is the same as "casaque d'homme." See above, p. 136, note.

and summoned all men who held feuds from my crown,[1] and also the cities, to be at Easter with the army I was to lead against Valencia; and I forthwith went into Aragon. When I was at Zaragoza, Don Fernando, Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Exemen Urrea, Don Rodrigo Liçana, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Garcia Romeu, and Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra came to me, so as to make a court though I had not summoned them.

CCXXXI.

I had been at Zaragoza eight days or more, when there came a message to me that En Bernard Guillem de Entença was dead; the barons knew it before me, and agreed that they would all come to me and tell me of his demise, that I might deliberate as to what should be done at the Puig of Santa Maria after his death. They came all sorrowful before me, and told Don Fernando to undertake the task of telling me of the death of En Bernard Guillem. When they entered I knew by their faces that they had got bad news. I told the barons to send out of the room all except themselves, Fernan Perez de Pina, and En Bernard Vidal, a learned man who accompanied me; all went away. Then Don Fernando began his discourse for himself and the others, and said, "My lord, all things in

[1] "Tenien feu per nos."

"the world have been made by Our Lord, and "He undoes them when it pleases him. We are "bound to you to do everything that can profit "you, and every disadvantage that befalls you must "grieve us. We have had news of what may do "you hurt, unless you quickly take thought about "it. News we have that grieve us much, for the "sake of a man of much worth, and for your own "sake also. We make it known to you that En "Bernard Guillem de Entença is dead; we know it "for certain, and as he held of you so great a post, "and so honourable, on the border, it is needful for "you to take counsel as to what you are to do."

CCXXXII.

When I heard Don Fernando's words I was greatly troubled, and I could not answer for a space of time, for the great grief I had felt at the death of En Bernard. But after a time I forced myself to answer them, and said: "The death of En Ber- "nard Guillem grieves me much for many reasons; "first because he was my near relative, my uncle "on the mother's side, and I had entrusted to him "a place so dear to me as the Puig is, for by the "help of that, Valencia, I fancy, and its kingdom "can be taken. And it grieves me for another "reason, even more than all I have said, for that "he himself was good and loyal, and that he had "much at heart to serve me; and he has died in

"God's service and my own. Yet I comfort myself "with this, that his soul, as every good Christian "must believe, will go to a good place. But I "am so troubled by this news of his death, that "to-night I cannot see or listen for grief; but to-"morrow at morning mass, come all of ye to me, "and we will take counsel together as to what "is to be done respecting the place." All said that I spoke well, and that they would come to me. Next morning I heard mass in my own house, which I would not leave, that people might not know the grief in which I was. All came, and I went with them into a room, and prayed and commanded them to give me counsel and aid as to what to do in so great a business as that. They said they would go apart, and hold their council, and would then come to me, and tell me their opinion. I said that it was not necessary to go away from me, but since they wished it, I was content. They went away to deliberate; at the end of an hour they returned and told Don Blasco de Alagon to say what they had determined on, as he knew more of Valencia than they, for he had been there for two or three years. Don Blasco objected for a time to speaking for them; but all said with one voice that they wished him to speak, and Don Blasco said he would say what they had resolved on when away; and he said:

CCXXXIII.

"My lord, this is what we all have seen "and thought. We have to consider your in- "terests, and not only your interests, but the "outlay you must be at in keeping the Puig. "You have not revenue enough for achieving so "great an enterprise as you have begun, and so "it seems to us you should order your men to "come back; another time you may have better "means prepared for conquering Valencia than "now you have; the more you spend on that "place, unless you succeed, the worse will it be "for you and for us. With all that, you can "return hereafter to take Valencia, and with God's "will you may take it." After this speech, Don Fernando said: "My lord, remember that when "we began this business of the Puig, I said you "could not finish it, and that you would make a "great outlay in vain; we are all of the opinion "of Don Blasco." I then wished to know if the others were of that opinion, and they all agreed that they were.

CCXXXIV.

My answer was that I did not expect to have such a counsel from them; what I was doing I did for the service of God, and none of my house had ever done the same. The death of Don Bernard

Guillem was the death of one of my barons who had defeated in the field the power of the King of Valencia, and done the greater part of the work towards conquering the kingdom. "If on account "of that death I should abandon the Puig, all "would say that all the merit of holding the place "was his; but I will show to the world that such "is my nature and such my courage, that the death "of Don Bernard will not be felt, not even if four "or five such as he was were lost. I tell you that "the place will not be abandoned, and that from it I "will take Valencia and all the rest of the country "afterwards." None of the barons assented except Fernan Perez de Pina and En Bernard Vidal, though they dared not say so before the others, only aside. I ordered all who were there to be with me at Easter; I would go immediately to the Puig and comfort the garrison there, till the army went to their assistance.

CCXXXV.

At the appointed time I went to the Puig with fifty knights of my own household. Don Exemen de Urrea came with me, and I ordered the son of En Bernard Guillem, whose name was En Guillem de Entença, to come with me; he might be between ten and eleven years old at the time. When I got there I found Don Berenguer and

En Guillem de Aguiló, and the knights of the Hospital, the Temple, Calatrava and Ucles (Santiago) in discouragement. I found that they had the dead man in his coffin, and were waiting for orders. I comforted them by my words, and told them not to have fear because their lord was dead, for I would be their lord, and would do for them what he did for their gain and advantage, and more. I then had En Bernard Guillem buried till such time as I could carry him to Escarp,[1] where he himself had prepared his tomb.

CCXXXVI.

Next morning, after mass, I sent for his son, En Guillem de Entença, who was there with me; I made him a knight, and granted him all the land that his father held of me. And the knights and the others who saw that I behaved well to the son and to those who had remained by the father, gave me great thanks for it, and prayed to Our Lord that He would give me a happy life, for the good example I had made of the son, and my resolution to hold that place. When that business was settled, I made arrangements for supplying the garrison till Easter, when I would again come with the whole of my army ; and I made Don Berenguer de Entença governor of the place in the room of

[1] A celebrated monastery.

En Bernard Guillem. But when the men knew that I wished to depart, they agreed with one another (the greater part of them parleying apart) that as soon as I was gone they would quit the Puig; some, for business they had at home, some, for bad excuses they invented, because they did not wish to stay there. I knew nothing of all that; but there were inside the place two Dominican friars, to confess and to preach, one called Friar Pedro of Lerida, and another whose name I do not recollect, and they came to us. Friar Pedro said that he wished to speak apart with me, and then told me that he wished to depart with me and not remain at the Puig. I said to him: "Why "do you wish to go? You are much needed here, "for one thing, to preach to them; for another, "that if one of them came to die, you could con- "fess him better than a chaplain who knows "nothing at all about it." He said: "I will tell "you why I wish to go. More than sixty knights, "all men of account, of the best in this place, have "spoken to me, and have said that they will leave, "by day or by night, whenever you go." I said to Friar Pedro: "It is a great marvel to me; they have "conquered in battle, I have made good to them "the horses they had lost, and have besides engaged "to supply them with all they might need for their "sustenance; how is it they cannot hold out till "Easter, to which there are but two months, when

"I promise to come here with my army, and then "go and besiege Valencia?" Friar Pedro replied: "Know, my lord, that if you depart it will cer- "tainly be 'viafors'[1] with them; they will also "go; and that is why neither I nor my companion "can stay here. For my part, I do not choose to "die till it is God's will that I should, that is, if I "can help it." I said to him, "Go you away; I "must reflect all to-night, and to-morrow morning "will give you an answer." The friars went away, and left me in great concern, for the whole thing seemed to me as a spider's web. After so much work on my part, to lose it all in an hour! That which I had managed to keep up together by dint of so many prayers, and so many "honors" bestowed on them, thus to be undone! Were I and my knights now to give it up, great damage and great hurt and shame would befall us all!

CCXXXVII.

Then I went to bed, without disclosing to any one of those with me what Friar Pedro had said. Though it was then January, and very cold, I turned more than a hundred times from one side of the bed to the other, and I sweated as if in a hot bath. After a great deal of thinking I at last went to sleep, worn out with fatigue and the want of rest.

[1] Catalan expression equivalent to *sauve qui peut*, or "all out."

Between midnight and dawn I awoke and returned to my anxious cares, and bethought me of what bad people I had to deal with, for in the world there are no people so arrogant as knights are ;[1] they would not, when I left, feel any shame in stealing away by night or by day and going to Burriana, which is only seven leagues off ; and through the country, as I had conquered it, they might go, whether they were many or few, when they pleased, without need of an escort. I reflected how, by the help of God and of His Mother, I had conquered from Tortosa down to Burriana ; and if that place of the Puig were abandoned and lost, so might be the other places I had taken. Wherefore I determined to go in the morning to the Church of Saint Mary, and call a council of the knights and all the others. Before addressing them, I asked Friar Pedro if he wished me to keep secret what he had told me ; he said, no, on the contrary, that it would please him that I disclosed it. When all were met in my presence I said : " Barons, I know " well and believe that you and all who are in " Spain know the great grace that our Lord showed " me in my youth in the conquest of Mallorca " and the other islands, and of what I have since " conquered from Tortosa down to this place. You " are here assembled to serve God and me. Now " Friar Pedro, of Lerida, spoke last night with me,

[1] " Car elmon non ha tan sobrer poble com son cauallers."

"and said that the greater part of you would go "away if I went; and I marvel much at it, for my "departure, I intended it to be for your advantage "and that of our enterprise; but since I understand "that my departure disturbs you" (I said this standing up), "I promise before God and this altar "of His Mother, that I will not go beyond Teruel "and the river at Tortosa till I have taken Valencia. "I will send for the Queen, my wife, and for my "daughter (who is now[1] Queen of Castile), to "come, that you may understand what a will I "have to stay here, and conquer this kingdom "for God's service."

CCXXXVIII.

When they heard those words of mine there was no one in the church who did not take to weeping, and I with them. I said: "Now be comforted, "for I will not leave this till the city of Valencia be "taken." They went away all joyful and content with the good fare of the words I had spoken. That discourse ended, and they having left me, I

[1] The king, or the writer of the *Chronicle*, did not intend the words I have placed in a parenthesis to be understood as uttered in his speech, but rather as explanatory of it. This daughter, Violante or Yolande, being the child of the king's second marriage, February 20th, 1234, cannot have been more than three years old at this time. She married in 1246 the Infante, Don Alfonso, who became King of Castile in 1252, after which date, of course, the author of the *Chronicle* must have written this passage. Her title of Roman Empress is not mentioned; Alfonso X.'s (contested) election as Emperor was in 1256.

forthwith sent my messengers to the Queen to come to Tortosa, and to my uncle, Don Fernando, to come with her. I stayed at the Puig after I had said that full fifteen days, and then I departed for Peñiscola, for I would not cross the Ebro, seeing what engagement I had taken.

CCXXXIX.

And on the day I had appointed for the Queen to be at Tortosa and Don Fernando with her, they sent to me, at Peñiscola, word that they had arrived. I sent them a message to come to Peñiscola, for I could not cross the Ebro on account of the agreement made with the knights at the Puig; on their arrival I would tell them why I had made such an agreement. But when the Queen, my wife, and Don Fernando left Tortosa to come to me, there came great rain, so great that when they had to cross the Ulldecona river [1] only one knight could cross, who crossed by his horse swimming; they told him before he crossed to come to me at Peñiscola and tell me that the Queen and Don Fernando had come to Ulldecona, but could not cross the river with the ladies, and that I was to send them word what to do. I told the messenger that I myself would go there. After dinner I took horse; the rain had ceased, but there was

[1] The Cenia.

such a sea raised by the wind that when the waves struck the Castle of Peñiscola on the side of the Grau of Tortosa they went over to the other side of the castle, and when others came from the Oropesa side, they too went over the castle on to the sand. I left, and found that the water at Ulldecona had gone down, but not much. I passed without swimming, but the water was still high, and went up to the saddle flaps. I found there the Queen and Don Fernando, who had already heard what I had said to the barons and knights at the Puig. I nevertheless spoke apart with the Queen and Don Fernando, and told them again what I had done at the Puig because of the knights wishing all to return home if I left at that time and season. I told them how, when I learned the wish of those knights and heard their intention, which was to abandon the place, notwithstanding they had nothing to fear after the battle they had won, since I had replaced the horses they had lost and was leaving them food enough, yet for all that they would not stay in the place, and cared not for the mischief they would bring about. I also told them how I insisted upon their remaining there because the place was of much consequence to me for the strong works I had built there, which would be destroyed through their baseness and weakness if I did not hinder it, and because I feared two things: one, that God would be offended at my undoing what He

had done so well; the other, shame before the world, that men could blame me and yet speak truly.[1]

CCXL.

Upon that my uncle Don Fernando answered and said, he wondered much at the plan I had formed, and was about to act on. To take Valencia was a great thing; what I wished, my predecessors had till then been unable to accomplish. "Not to be able "(he said) to enter your own kingdoms because of "your engaging to accomplish so great a thing; not "to speak with your lieges nor they with you, would "be what could not be; such a great thing could not "be done!" The Queen agreed with what Don Fernando said, for on their road to Ulldecona they had agreed they would speak thus.

CCXLI.

I saw their wish was that I should go to Catalonia and Aragon. But for all they said to me, I did not give up the good design I had formed. I told them that I came from the spot and knew how things were; I had seen and heard them, and they

[1] This confused and tautological passage suggests strongly the belief that it was taken down from the dictation of an old man reviving his remembrance of old troubles. The passage stands thus: "Et quant nos entenem la "lur volentat, ja fos ço que nols "calia tembre res per la batalla "que haviem vençuda, e nos quels "haviem smenat los caualls que "haviem e quels lexauem prou "que manjar, per tot aço no volien "romanir en aquell lloch," &c

themselves had not. I said: "Don Fernando, I ask "you how could I take Valencia if the Puig were "abandoned? Before I laid siege to Valencia the "Saracens could harvest what they have sown; if I "went to Catalonia and Aragon before I had done "deliberating with my lieges as to what had to be "done, certainly the Moors would have gathered in "what they have sown, for Valencia and its country is "a very warm land, and such a town as Valencia "if conquered must be taken by famine. Let us "not give them time to get grain, or supplies, or "succour from any quarter; that is the best way "I can find to take Valencia. Again, I have given "my solemn word that I will not pass the Ebro "or Teruel till Valencia be taken; and my agree-"ment I cannot break, with the help of God and "of those who hold fiefs from me in Catalonia and "'honors'[1] in Aragon, and of the archbishops and "the bishops who promised me aid when I held "Cortes at Monzon. I have sent them word that "they are to come here with what they promised, "and with God's will I shall have done so much "before you arrive that everything will be ready "for taking Valencia; for before you come the "Saracens cannot have harvested the wheat and "barley. You will come in time. I commend you

[1] "Nostres feus en Catalunya e honors en Aragon." Feus (from *feudum*) and *honors* are synonymous; both meaning an estate or piece of land held in fief from a superior on condition of fidelity and certain services, which were in general of a military nature.

"to God. Take care to come; you will find the "table served; and no otherwise will I do." He and the Queen, seeing that it could not be otherwise, asked me for some grants for their own advantage, which I readily gave. Don Fernando returned, and I and the Queen next morning crossed the river, whose waters had fallen considerably. In two days I returned to Burriana, left the Queen there, and returned next day to the Puig, where they had great joy at our coming, and seeing that I bore them in mind so well.

CCXLII.

Zaen, finding that I had set my heart on the business, and made my wife come, was seized with great fear; he sent Ali Albaca [with a message] to Don Fernando Diez, whom he was to make swear on the Gospels not to disclose it. After that, Fernando Diez came, and said he wished to speak to me in secret of something to my great profit. When I heard that, I drew apart to a chamber in the house in which I was lodging. He asked me to keep the thing secret, and then said: "There has, my lord, come to you the "greatest fortune and the greatest honour that "ever came to a man of your house. Zaen has "sent me a message by Ali Albaca, which he "made me swear on the Gospels to disclose only

"to you; he says that he would bind himself "to this, to give up to you all the castles from "the Guadalviar to Tortosa,[1] and from Tortosa "to Teruel; to build for you an alcazar (fortress-"palace) in the Çaidia;[2] and to pay you besides "every year henceforth, in the city of Valencia, ten "thousand besants as rent." When I heard that proposal I thought it in my heart a good and fine one, and that it was a great thing that they would give me; yet I said I would think of it. I was a great space of time thinking, as long as one could walk a mile in, and then I said: "Fernando "Diez, I know and believe that you would seek my "profit and honour; but this thing is one that I "will not do, for this reason: I have arrived at a "time and a point at which I can take Valencia, "and so I intend having the hen and the chickens "too." Don Fernando wondered and crossed himself, and said he marvelled much that I should refuse such offers, for (said he) "had this proposal "been made in the time of your father or grand-"father they would all have jumped at it, and "danced at such good fortune as had befallen "them." So Ali Albaca went back, and could not do what he had come for.

[1] "Tots los castells quants son de *Guardalamar* tro a Tortosa."

[2] "E queus faria un alquacer a la çaydia." *Alquacer*, in Spanish "alcazar," is a fortress-palace, from the Arabic قصر, with the article. Çaidía is the name for the citadel of Valencia, سعيدية, or السيدية.

CCXLIII.

While I was at the Puig there came to me a message from Almenara, from the Alfaqui and from another Saracen who was very powerful there, that if they could only treat with me they would willingly surrender Almenara. I was very glad of that message. I rode forth next day early as if I were going to Burriana, met the two Saracens on the road, and spoke with them. They told me that they would speak first with the Aljama[1] or assembly of notables, and would then settle with me how I should have the place. I went on to Burriana to see the Queen and to comfort her, and bid her be of good heart now that she had come to the front. Next day I left Burriana, and as I passed by Almenara, sent word to those two to come out to me. They came out as soon as they saw my pennon. I asked them to name a day on which they would surrender Almenara. They said that Almenara was such a castle that for the service they would do me in giving it up, I ought to do great things; inasmuch as when the other Moors in the country heard that I had Almenara, all the rest of the country would surrender to me from Teruel to Tortosa. I said it was for them to look after themselves before they thought of others; that several

[1] "E dexeren nos que parlarien ab la Aljama, e que endreçarian com nos poguesem hauer aquell lloch."

other castles were also parleying with me for surrender, and that if they took the lead of the others they would certainly get better terms from me for the good beginning they had made. They asked me to grant to each of them in heritage, besides what he had already in Almenara, three yokes (*jouvadas*[1]) of arable land; that I should grant to their kinsmen who had given their help thirty yokes of land, and that all those yokes should be taken from the Alguebes,[2] that is, from those who had abandoned the place and fled; that I should also give them two hundred cows and a thousand sheep and goats; that I should give dresses of scarlet cloth to forty of their kinsmen, who joined with them in the business; and lastly, that I should give to them both hackneys, so that they might count as knights or horsemen.[3]

CCXLIV.

When I heard what the two Saracens said, it pleased me well, and I assented, for an old adage says, "He who does not give what grieves him,

[1] *Jouvada*, from the Latin *jugum*, in Spanish *yugada* is the extent of ground which a yoke or pair of oxen can plough in one day.

[2] "E que totes aquestes jouvades "serien de les *alguebes*, ço son de "aquells qui havien desamparat lo "llogar qui sen eren fuyts." Alguebe comes from الغايب, the absentee, or emigrant. In the Spanish version the word is printed *Alquebers*, which has no meaning at all.

[3] "E que donassem a aquels "dos sengles rocins qui anassen "en compte de cauallers."

does not get what he likes."[1] I asked them to name a day when the thing could be carried out; they said they would speak first privately with their friends, and would so arrange matters that within eight days they would let me know that on which I was to come to Almenara. Thereon I left them, and in front of the very castle of Almenara, in sight of those who had spoken with me, and who were still on the hill-side, I let my falcons loose upon a fine heron[2] there, such as I would like to have; it struck high in air and fairly. I was among the first to ride up to it, but I would not let the heron be killed by the falcons; I took it from them, and gave them instead a fowl to feed on, sending the heron alive to those with whom I had had the parley, with a message to this effect; that I sent them that as a New Year's present for Almenara, and that I sent it to them alive, for I knew their usage, and that they would not have it if already dead.[3] They were greatly pleased, and said in the ear of my messenger, "Tell the king to be "of good heart, for what he wishes about Almenara "will quickly come to pass." I rejoiced much at their message, and returned that night to the Puig.

[1] "Qui no dona ço que dol, no ha ço que vol."

[2] The text reads "grua," which is a crane, in Spanish *grulla*; but I should think that the "garza," or heron, is meant.

[3] "E enviam los a dir que per "strena de Almenara menjassen la "grua, e que nos lals enviavem "tota viva, per ço car sabiem lur "costum, que nola volien morta." Mohammedans, as is well known, do not eat beef, mutton, or game, unless the jugular vein is cut.

CCXLV.

On the eighth day they sent to me secretly one of their own who came to the camp by night with a letter from them. The letter said that I might come to Almenara when I pleased, for what they had spoken of to me was concluded; and that I should bring with me part, or the whole, of the cattle I had promised them. I had in my camp seven hundred goats and two hundred cows, taken from the Moors in a raid. I sent for Pedro Ramon, of Tortosa, a clothier, who had a workshop at Burriana, and happened to be in the camp; there were also two or three clothiers from whom I could get the stuff their workmen made; to all of them I sent messages to come. I then went to Almenara, and found all the Saracens, except the "caid" who still held the castle for Zaen; he might have inside with him some twenty men, all strangers to the place. But all the people of the town and of the district who were there, said that they would surrender to me both the towers, and the bailey (*albacar*) of the castle, and would join in the attack, so that I might be sure I should take it.

CCXLVI.

On that I gave them the cattle, according to agreement, and told them that next morning, when

they had surrendered the castle, they might go with me to Burriana for the cloth, and I would complete the delivery of everything else. It was already evening. I went up into the bailey, I and about twenty knights of my suite, with their respective esquires. They gave me a house to live in, formerly a mosque,[1] but so near the castle that they threw great stones at us; so that no one dared go out for fear of the stones they threw. When it was broad day next morning, I sent out of the house two knights in armour, who went up to the gates of the castle, and asked, "Who commands in that castle?" They replied that the commander would come out and speak with them. Then the two knights said to him, speaking in my name, "The king "says he is here, and bids you choose which "you like best of two things; if you please he will "give you of his own what you will do well to take. "If you do not like that, but will have death rather "than life, prepare yourselves, for he certainly will "take you all before the hour of tierce."

CCXLVII.

And thereupon the governor of the castle said he wished to speak with me. I went outside with my shield and my iron cap on, lest they should attempt some treachery, and asked, "What do you

[1] The word used is Mesquita, from the Arabic مسجد, a place of worship.

want? Here I am." The governor said he knew me well, but wished to know for certain whether I really was there or not. And since I was there, he wished to tell me that he was in that castle for Zaen, the King of Valencia; he himself was a knight,[1] he knew well he could not defend himself against me, for the people of the town were on my side, and I could easily take the castle with the force I had with me; but he prayed that since he gave up the castle, I should deal well with him and those who were in the place. I said that I would willingly do that on condition that he should make ready to come out, and should come to me, when I would make him a proper gift. He replied, he would do so; and he came and asked me to give to him and to a relation of his, who was there with him, two horses, one to each, for they had eaten theirs that they might defend the castle for their lord; and to give besides dresses, and cloth to the men who were there with him. I gave him at once the two horses, and sent to Burriana to Pere Ramon for cloth for the men of the castle and of the town, asking him to make up the quantity of cloth I had to give them. Thus I got the castle at once.

CCXLVIII.

Then I sent to the Queen two knights, bidding her come to me, as Our Lord had done me that great

[1] "Era cavaller e conexia be que a nos nos poria defendre."

favour of giving me the castle of Almenara, where she would be better lodged than at Burriana and safer. When the messenger arrived, the Queen had her dinner ready, and she said she would go when she had dined; it was during Lent. The knights said, "The King bids you come; he has prepared "dinner; you will dine better and more joyfully "there than you would do here." When the Queen heard that, she left her dinner. I waited till she came, and went to meet her to the hillside below the castle; she and I entered the castle and dined with great joy.

CCXLIX.

Next day there came messages from Uxó, from Nules, and from Castro, that if I would treat them well they would surrender those castles. As I had taken Almenara, the Saracens knew well that it was the will of Our Lord that I should have the whole land. I replied, that they would be welcome, and that I would go out to meet them at the tower of Forçada (Forcada?), where the two districts of Almenara and Uxó meet,[1] opposite Almenara, and near the Rapita, which tower was called Mancofa in the time of the Saracens.[2] I would not appoint one day for all

[1] "E nos exirlos hiem a una "torra, qui es Forçada (*sic*) hon "se parten (?) lo terme Dalmenara "e de Vxo."

[2] Perhaps this means, "which "is *now* called Forcada, or "of the fork—and was called "Mancofa in the time of the "Moors."

the "caids" of those castles to come, for I did not wish that one should know the treaty the other had made. So I told the men of Uxó that I would go to them at tierce next day; and appointed with them of Nules that I would meet them on the third day at the fig-garden in their territory, opposite Mancofa,[1] and so would make my treaty with each of them. From each of the municipalities (*aljamas*[2]) there were to come ten elders of the principal and most powerful among them. Whilst I parleyed with one body of men the others were not to be there. I bade the men of Castro to stay with me, and I would there conclude their treaty, which was to give them a quantity of sheep and goats, dresses for five of the elders, besides two horses which I was also to give. I granted to them the free exercise of their law (religion) and their franchises, as they used to have them in the time of the Saracens; and I gave them five of my mounted esquires and ten footmen to protect them.

CCL.

Next day I got five sheep and twenty hens, and went with my bread and my wine to the Forçada tower, as I had promised the men of Uxó. When I had waited there for a time they came. I had kept for them two sheep and five hens living, that

[1] "Al Figueral qui es sobre Mancofa." Elsewhere Mancopha and Mencofa.

[2] The word used is *Aljames*, in Spanish *aljamas*, the plural of *aljama*, جماعة, meeting, congregation.

they might all dine with me. When they came I said I would have no parley with them till I had dined, and they were merry with meat and wine.[1] I granted them fifteen hundred sheep and goats, sixty cows, dresses for thirty men, and besides three hackneys. I gave them charters that they should keep their law and all their usages as they had them in the time of the Saracens, and that they should pay me my dues as they did to their king. They said, "Who will deliver us all that?" And I said that in three days I would give them what I promised. They were not to delay surrendering the castles, for I pledged myself to keep my word. They had faith in me. I had with me only Don Ladró and nine knights, when the Saracens told me to go to the castles, and that they would surrender them.

CCLI.

Then I took with them the road to the town, and there came to meet me at the foot of the hill two hundred men and women with great joy. When they came before me, all put down their lances. Of the nine knights who were with me at the time, I sent eight up to the castle, I myself staying below with Don Ladró, and with all those Saracens. When my pennon was hoisted on the

[1] The editions of 1515 and 1557 say more explicitly, "till they had dined and were merry," &c.

Alcazar, I myself went up there; the Saracens also were going up with me, but I told them, "Wait for me here, I shall presently be with you." I thus took possession of their castle, left there my men, and then descended and went to Burriana, where I got the cattle I had promised them, and the horses, and the cloth, and gave it to them. All this was done next day, without waiting for the third day, and sent to them at once.

CCLII.

Thence I went to see the men of Nules, taking dinner with me, and the Saracens eating with me; I would not treat with them till they were well warmed with meat and wine.[1] After eating, I had the writings drawn; I granted them a thousand sheep and goats, fifty cows, dresses for twenty men, and two horses. I went up with them to the castle, which they forthwith surrendered. I left there my "caids"[2] and my men, and put guards in each of the castles, as was fit.

CCLIII.

Before I left Almenara, another castle, called Alfandech, surrendered after one day's summons;

[1] "Que no voliem parlar ab "ells tro que fossem escalfats del "menjar e del vi." See above, p. 360, note 3. It would appear from these two passages that the Valencian Moors were not so averse to wine as their other Mohammedan brethren in the Peninsula.

[2] *Alcayt*, in Spanish *alcaide*, from the Arabic قايد.

so that five good castles were won in no time. I then went to the Puig where my army was, and they all had great and brilliant rejoicings with me for the favour God had shown us.

CCLIV.

I stopped at the Puig, and kept Lent there; the Queen kept hers at Almenara till Easter, when I went to keep it with her; after that I went with her to the Puig. On the third day after Easter there came to me a messenger, a Saracen from Paterna, secretly, with letters from the whole Aljama (congregation), saying they would surrender to me the town and the castle. Others came similarly from Betera and Bufila,[1] saying they would surrender too. I answered that I would go to them; they should hold themselves in readiness to surrender the castles when I came. I would let them keep their law and all their usages, as in the time of their kings, and would do much for them. And on the fourth day, as I had undertaken, I myself went to Paterna with a hundred knights, and the Queen went also with me; all the Saracens, men and women, came to me out of the place with great joy. I told them that I would treat them well, and would free them from dues for two years, for what they had

[1] Or Bulla.

suffered. They gave God thanks for the good words I had said to them, and opened the gates to me. I entered, and left there the Queen with some ten knights in garrison, and in the same manner I got Betera and Bufila, after which I returned to the Puig.

CCLV.

When the Saracens of Valencia learned that I had got Paterna, the anger and grief they had were doubled, at seeing I was coming so close to them. I resolved, at the Puig of Santa Maria, to wait for nothing more, but to proceed at once to the siege of Valencia. I then had with me the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer; a Commander of the Temple, who had about twenty knights with him; the Commander of Alcaniz;[1] Don Rodrigo Liçana, who had some thirty knights under him; the Commander of Calatrava; En Guillem de Aguiló, who had about fifteen; Don Exemen Perez de Taraçona, and my own train of retainers, who might be from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty knights, all men of noble birth. There were also in the camp a hundred and fifty "almogavars," and well up to a thousand footmen.

[1] Now Alcaniz. A commandary belonging to the Order of Calatrava.

CCLVI.

I resolved that next day early, in the name of the Lord, I would begin to move, and would proceed to the siege of Valencia. I passed the marsh [1] at a crossing I had made, and went along the sea shore to the Grau, and there forded the river.[2] When I had got over it, we and the baggage-mules (*adzembles*) went to some houses half-way between Valencia and the Grau, but nearer the Grau than Valencia; there I set up my banners and tents, and took my station; it might be a mile from that place to Valencia. My intention was to wait there for more troops to come from Aragon and Catalonia, with which to besiege Valencia. That day I saw Saracen horsemen from Valencia, who went about between us and the town, to see if they could steal anything from the army, but I kept my knights from foraging till they knew the country well.

CCLVII.

Next day before dawn, without my knowledge, the almogavars and the camp-followers went to

[1] "E passam un pas que nos "haviem a la marjal e anam nos "en riba mar tro al Grau." *Marjal*, a fen, a low-lying marshy ground. The word is Arabic, and derived from مرج, *merj*, a field, pasture-ground, &c. No doubt the low grounds round the Albufera or lake, البحيرة, are here meant.

[2] E passam alli a Guadalaviar, *i.e.*, the white river, واد الابياض, for such is the meaning of that name: the *dh* of *Wad-al-abyadh* having been converted by euphony into *r*.

take the Ruçafa,[1] close to the town, within two cross-bow shots. I had at the time a malady in the eyes, and could not open them till I had washed them with hot water. They came and told me that almogavars and footmen had gone to quarter themselves in the Ruçafa, of which they had actually taken possession. En Hugh de Fullalquer, the Master of the Hospital, came to me and said: "What do "you order us to do? They have all gone to take "quarters in the Ruçafa." I said: "Let us put "armour on the horses, and with banners spread let "us go to succour them, or else all are dead men." And he said: "It shall be done as you command." Then we all armed and proceeded towards the suburb called Ruçafa; had I not made so much haste to come, all those in the place would have been killed or taken prisoners. When we entered it, the Saracens were at the other end of it. I made my people halt in an open space there was.

CCLVIII.

Then there came to me En Ramon Çavellá, Commander of Aliaga, and Lope Xemenez de Luziá, who said they could take full fifty Saracens if they made an onset towards Valencia.

[1] رصافة, Rusafah or Risafah, "a pavement, a floor paved with bricks," gave its name to a palace in Cordoba (La Rizafa), as well as to a suburb in Valencia. The Spanish word *arrecife*, a paved road, comes from the same Arabic root.

I said, I wished to see how that could be done. They took me to the gate looking towards Valencia, and there I saw Zaen posted with all the power of Valencia at a tower half-way between that city and the Ruçafa, in a spot where there were some rocks, and where water had collected from the rains and the watercourses. The tower now belongs to En Ramon Riquer. I reckoned Zaen's force at four hundred horsemen, and of footmen, the greater part of those in Valencia; in my opinion, and in that of those who were round me, the Saracens might be about ten thousand, more or less. And within a stone's throw of us and of them, there were thirty or forty peasants gathering beans in a bean-field. These were the Saracens whom Çavellá and Luziá said they could capture if they made an onset towards Valencia. I told them, "You are "wrong; it is the nature of an attack, like the "one you propose making, that if unsuccessful "they who make it will have to come back as "fugitives. I do not know whether those fields "are cut and traversed by watercourses[1] for the "purpose of irrigation; if they are, the horses in "coming back through them will get into the water-"courses, some of them may fall inside, and we all "may sustain great damage; peradventure also if "the enemy drives us back in flight to the Ruçafa,

[1] The word translated by "water-courses" is *asequies*, from the Arabic ساقية, "rivus quo rigatur terra."

"we might also lose that and the other places we "have taken." Wherefore I would not take their advice on that; but at night I would send trustworthy men to see if the fields were irrigated or not; if they were not, my men might return to me, and then I would allow a charge to be made. In this manner by the favour of God we did so much on that first day that we were actually quartered within two cross-bow shots of the city of Valencia.

CCLIX.

We stayed under arms all that first day; so that no one of us even ate his food but sitting on his horse, and that was only bread, wine, and cheese. At vespers the Saracens turned head and went back to the city; then I dismounted, put off my armour, as usual,[1] and took food. After taking my repast, I made fifty knights arm themselves to watch the camp by night. When morning came I heard mass; the Saracens did not come out against us, but let us rest, and so we stayed for five days.

CCLX.

Meantime there continued to come to me barons and knights from Aragon and Catalonia; among the first came the Archbishop of Narbonne with

[1] "E puix nos descavalcam, e sempre desquarnim nos, e menjam."

forty knights and six hundred footmen; his name was Pedro Arnyell.[1] So our army kept increasing, the Saracens being so straitened that they did not dare come out against us, except to skirmish with some of our men, for which it would not do to put armour on our horses, as the Saracens did not close with us so as to do us harm,[2] nor could we, as it was, get at them. So when the barons and the city bands (*ciutats*) came, they beset Valencia all around, and set themselves closer to the city than we had done when we first came to it. The city men who took post the nearest were those of Barcelona.

CCLXI.

I had next to consider from what side I would push the siege, and a council was held for that purpose; some said that the attack should be against the Boatella, but I spoke against those who said so. Of that opinion were also the Archbishop of Narbonne and the other barons who were with me; but I proved to them by reasoning, that we could not push the siege from any place so good as

[1] The right name of this bishop was Pierre Amyell.

[2] "E els Sarrahins strenguer-"ense en tal manera que no "gosaven exir ab nos, seno de "torneig que havien ab alcuns de "la host; e per ço no hi calia "guarnir caualls, que ells no se "acostaven en tal guisa a nos que "nos los poguessem aconseguir." *Torneig* is, properly speaking, a tournament, or "*pas d'armes*" in old French.

that where we were then, for three reasons. One was that if we set our battering engines against the gate, it would only be where the Saracens could sally out and set fire to them, as it would be near their gate, which they could not do where we then were. The place is farther from their gate, and they will not dare to sally out as far. So I would set the engines there where we then were. If the Saracens attack the engines the army can easily defend them and overtake the enemy before they got back to the city, for at that time there was no gate between the Boatella and the Xerea.[1] Another reason was, that the city came to an angle there on that spot, and when the time came for our mining the barbacan[2] and the wall, the operation could not be hindered from the towers, for the wall came where the fight would be, and projected further than the rest of the city wall. The third reason was, that if the army shifted itself to the Boatella, they in the city could by their horse get command of the ways between the sea and the army, and we should be obliged to keep, in order to protect the camp, an additional hundred horse in armour, who would considerably lessen the strength of the army, while it would harass those

[1] *Xerea* is again an Arabic word, meaning a way (*via*), and also the law prescribed by God, شريعة. At Granada there was also a gateway so called, Babo-x-xarea, or "Puerta de la Justicia."

[2] In Arabic Bab-el-Khanah, باب القانة, the gate of the barbacan.

who had to do this guard. When the barons and knights heard my reasons, they all assented to what I said, and held my plan for the best.

CCLXII.

Then the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was a bold man, asked me why I was there and did nothing; I said I would act when the army came; *I would then attack the Boatella.*[1] Meantime there came a "trebuchet" I had made at Tortosa, and two "fonevols." I set them up and battered the wall opposite to where the camp was. I had besides mantlets made, which extended beyond the engines, having underneath them men in armour. The mantlets were then pushed up to some cub-walls near the moat; wood and faggots were next thrown into the moat, which was full of water; then three men in armour crossed over to the barbacan. When they told me that three men had crossed to the barbacan, I would not believe their word, and went to see what they were talking of. I saw that the men had actually lodged themselves and could well maintain their ground, and that they in the town could not reach them with missiles. I sent them two picks, and they worked with them and made three holes in the barbacan, into each of which two men could very well go.

[1] "E combatriem la boatella." These words are not rendered in the Spanish version and are clearly at variance with what has just been said.

CCLXIII.

Meantime I sent one of the "fonevols" to Cilla under two barons, Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra and Don Exemen de Urrea, who attacked it for eight days, at the end of which time the enemy surrendered. So was Cilla[1] taken.

CCLXIV.

While we were mining into the "barbacan," and the Saracens were defending it as well as they could, there came against us, to the Grau of Valencia, twelve galleys and six "atzaures" (smaller vessels) of the King of Tunis, between first sleep and midnight.[2] There came also during the night a message from those who were at the Grau, saying that many galleys had arrived, they thought from twelve to fifteen. Hearing that, I got ready fifty knights, with horses in armour, and about two hundred footmen, and I set them in ambush on a bank at some distance from the sea, between certain ditches (*caues*) and the bank,[3] where they could lie well. I exhorted them not to sally out

[1] Also written Ciyla, one league from Valencia on the road to Xátiva.

[2] Vengueren a nos xii. galees e vi. *agzaures* del Rey de Tunis, sus entre prim son et mija nuyt. If *agzaures* is, as I believe, a misprint for *at-zaures*, or *az-zabres*, it may be a corrupt form of زبرة, and with the article الزبرة, Az-zabra, *i.e.*, a small vessel called by the Castilians *zabra*.

[3] Another copy has *canes*, which means "reeds."

till the enemy were well advanced, and not to give up their ambush till half tierce. The Saracens, however, for fear of the ambush, did not land. When it was night, they put up full a hundred signal lights on the galleys,[1] that they in the town might see, and they beat their drums. They in the town set full a thousand lights on the walls, and also beat their drums, to let them know that they held the King of Tunis for their lord. When they had done all that display and noise (*algazara*[2]), I ordered the army also to prepare torches in every tent, and when it became dark to light them all, and throw them into the moat after setting up a great shout; and it was done as I had ordered, that the Saracens might understand that we cared little for their bravados. In this manner did my men throw five hundred burning torches against the rampart. So the Valencians saw that we cared little for what they had done, and that the galleys could in nowise help them.

CCLXV.

Meantíme I sent by the shore as far as Tortosa and Tarragona, bidding them be on their guard and to come in a body, which they did. I had three galleys at Tarragona and Tortosa, which were

[1] "Et quant vench a la nuyt "faerem be cent *alimares* de foch "en les galees," thus in the original text, but I suspect that *alimares* is a misprint for *almenares*, from منار, locus lucis, signum.

[2] Algazara is an Arabic word غزارة.

immediately armed. After stopping two days [at the Grau] the galleys of the Saracens went to Peñiscola, and landed to attack the place. Fernan Perez de Pina was inside with his men. He went out of the castle which he held for me; he had with him ten horsemen between himself, Don Fernan Ahones, and others who were there. With this small force and the Saracens of the town, who gave him very good aid, Don Fernan beat off the people of the galleys, of whom seventeen were slain. Meanwhile the convoy from Tortosa, which consisted of twenty-one sails, armed seven vessels (*lenys*) in such wise that any one of them could take a galley if it ran alongside of her.[1] The three galleys [of Tarragona] and the seven vessels [of Tortosa] came all in a body, so that when the enemy's galleys came to know of this, they took flight and disappeared, not daring to wait for them. In this manner there came to me a great supply of bread, wine, barley, cheese, fruit, and other smaller articles. So large became the camp that there were at last in it no less than a thousand knights and sixty [thousand] footmen. One could find in it every article one wished to sell or buy, as in a city; nay, there were there apothecaries from Montpellier and Lerida, who sold drugs and spices, such as one could find

[1] The text has: "E la caravana "de Tortosa que foren xxi vela "armaren sept lenys in tal manera "que cascun dels lenys pren- "guera una galea si se acostas "al leny."

in a great town, for the sick as well as the sound. Meanwhile I made my engines batter the walls every day, and my men had frequent skirmishes with those within, or made attacks. In one of these the Exerea[1] was taken; more than a hundred horse in armour got into it, and full fifteen Saracens were killed in the defence.

CCLXVI.

At another time the men of the Archbishop of Narbonne were skirmishing with those from inside, but the Archbishop's men did not know the way of the Saracens, who on that occasion, as in others, fled from them to draw them nearer to the town. Perceiving that the enemy's footmen were only retreating with that end, I sent my people a message not to pursue, or else the Saracens would do them great hurt. They would not stay for my message; but I, fearing lest thirty or more of them should be killed by the Moors, went up to them on the same horse I was then riding, and made them draw back. As I was coming with the men, I happened to turn my head towards the town in order to look at the Saracens, who had come out in great force, when a cross-bowman shot at me, and hit me beside the sun-hood,[2] and the shot struck me on the head, the bolt lighting near the forehead. It was God's will

[1] See above, p. 375.

[2] "E un ballester tirans e de "part lo capell de batut donans "en lo cap ab lo corrall (cayrel?) "prop del front."

it did not pass through the head, but the point of the arrow went half through it. In anger I struck the arrow so with my hand that I broke it: the blood came out down my face; I wiped it off with a mantle of "sendal" [1] I had, and went away laughing, that the army might not take alarm. I then went and lay down in a tent, when all my face and eyes swelled, so that I could not see for the swelling of the eye on the wounded side. When the swelling in my face had gone down, I rode round the camp that the army might not be discouraged.

CCLXVII.

Meantime Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea agreed that they would attack the tower which stands at the gate of the Boatella on the street of Saint Vincent.[2] This they concealed from me and from every one else in the camp. But though they made the attack and continued it for a good while, what with the forces that came out to it from the city, and the gallant defence of those within the tower, Don Pedro and Don Exemen could not take it, and had to retreat. I told them they had done ill to begin so great an undertaking without my counsel and that of the barons and knights of the army, and that it was right well that they had fared so ill.

[1] Light silk stuff.

[2] "La torra que es a la part de "la Boatella, en la carrera de Sanct "Vicent."

CCLXVIII.

Thereon I sent for the bishops and the barons of the army, and we agreed that since the thing had been begun, by all means the tower should be taken the next day; that we would arm two hundred horse and all the cross-bowmen of the army; at sunrise we would go to the attack, resolved to take the tower, and no man should draw back till it was taken. At sunrise I went there myself; there were about ten Saracens prepared to defend the tower. We attacked them, and they defended themselves well and gallantly; no men could defend themselves better than they did. But so great was the effect of the cross-bowmen on our side, and of the stones that were thrown against the tower, that no Moor could put his hand out of cover but it was immediately pierced by an arrow. With all that they would not surrender the tower when summoned. Then one of our men set fire to the tower. When they saw the fire they were cowed, and said they would surrender; but I said we would not give them quarter, as they had not surrendered at first. I burned them all there, took possession of the tower, and returned to the camp.

CCLXIX.

When that was done, great fear fell on those inside the city for the capture of that tower; we made our engines batter the city night and day. After a time, when a month was past, a Saracen trader came out of the city under safe conduct; the men of En Ramon Berenguer de Ager met with him and brought him in on the croup of a horse. He came before me and gave me news of Zaen, the King of Valencia, how he managed his affairs and what his plans were. He told me that three things had greatly discouraged the Valencians; firstly, that the galleys of the King of Tunis had done so little for them; the second, the tower that we had burnt; the third, the great army they saw, that had invested almost the whole of Valencia; he (the trader) thought they could not hold out long because they had not supplies for so many people as were in Valencia,—men, women, and children—owing to our having surprised them and besieged the town before they got in their harvest. He believed it certain that it would not be long before we got it.

CCLXX.

When I heard the words the Saracen said to me, they pleased me much, as well as those of the army who happened to know of them. And

as this book is such that one should not put small matters into it, I leave telling many things there were, and will only tell the greatest, that the book may not be much lengthened; but the things that were great and good, of them will I speak and treat. As to our camp, I can say of it that I, who have made thirty of them at different times, have never seen one so well supplied as that was with the things that were necessary for man's help; so that sick people got the help of apothecaries as if they were at Barcelona or Lerida.

CCLXXI.

When it got to within fifteen days of Michaelmas, Zaen sent me word that if I would give a safe conduct to a Saracen named Ali Albata,[1] a native of Peñiscola, he would send him on to parley with me. I said I was well content that he should come, and that I would give him a safe conduct; when the messenger came, he told me what[2] the King of Valencia had sent him for; I said I would consider it, and would give him an answer briefly. I reflected that it was not well to make those words of Ali known to any one in the camp, whether baron, knight, or others; for there were many among them who would not be pleased that

[1] Elsewhere (p. 356) Albaca. Neither name, however, seems a patronymic.

[2] As will appear presently, the messenger said only in general terms, that Zaen would treat for the surrender of the town.

Valencia should be taken; they would rather it belonged to the Saracens than to me, as I afterwards had sufficient proof of it. I went to the Queen, and told her what Ali Albaca had said, and what my intention was; if it seemed well to her, I prayed and commanded that no one in the camp but I and she, and the messenger who acted as interpreter, should know of it. She said that what I told her pleased her much; no one had so great an interest in my honour and welfare as herself; if God loved me and gave me honour, she thanked Him for it, for her hopes were all centred in me. She thought it well that no one should know of these proposals, that I might not be hindered in my undertaking; for she had seen me take possession of other places and castles, which my barons would rather see as they were than in my power, and as to which they did many things they should not do; wherefore she well believed that since in small things they acted so, they would with regard to Valencia show their power in such wise that I should not take it. She thought secrecy good beyond everything, till I was sure of taking the city.

CCLXXII.

I then sent for Ali Albaca to come again to me, and told him to state what he had come for. He

said that the words Zaen had to say were great and of high import. "They are not for me to speak "out, but Zaen, King of Valencia, sends me to say "that if you will he will send to you the Rais[1] "Abulphamalet (or Abulamalet) his nephew, his "sister's son, and after himself the most powerful "man in Valencia and in the kingdom, and the one "in whom he most trusts. If it please God, before "you and he part, I trust that this business will "come to a good conclusion." To that I replied that he might go back to the town, and that the other one should come as soon as possible. I gave him a knight to escort him and take him back to Valencia. And he fixed a time, next morning at sunrise, when he would be with me, and that I should send then a knight to escort him to the camp. I agreed to do so. In the morning I accordingly sent a knight, and he came. When he was before me, he said that Zaen, King of Valencia, saluted me. He told me besides, on that king's behalf, that next morning, between tierce and sunrise, I was to send two nobles to escort Rais Abul-

[1] Rais, in Spanish *arraez*, means a chief, رائس, but it is not so easy to guess what is meant by *Abulphamalet* or *Abnalmalet*, as in the edition of 1557. If the former reading be accepted, the prefix *Abu*, ابو, indicates the father of Alfamalet (?); if *Abn*, the meaning undoubtedly is "the son of Alfamalet." Supposing, however, the last letter to be a *c* instead of a *t*, we would have ابن الملك, Abnalmalec or Ibn Malec, a very common name among Arabs and Moors.

phamalet,[1] who would forthwith come to me. I ordered Don Nuño and En Berenguer Roger de Ager to get ready in the morning to meet Zaen's nephew, Rais Abulphamalet, and to escort him to me; and they said they would do so.

CCLXXIII.

Meantime two Saracen knights challenged any two of our army to joust with them, and they made this known to me; Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, who was afterwards lord of Arenós, came to me and asked me to give him that joust, together with Miguel Perez de Isór.[2] I told him I marvelled much at him, that a man who was such a sinner as he was, and of so bad a life, could ask to joust; I had my fears that we all should be brought to shame through him. But he begged of me so hard that I assented; he jousted with the Saracen, and the Saracen overthrew him. Pere de Clariana then went against the other Saracen, and at coming together in the joust the Saracen turned and fled, and he pursued him, till he got across the Guadalaviar, and among his own people.

CCLXXIV.

The next morning early, Rais Abulphamalet came out with the Saracen who had jousted, and with ten

[1] Written Abnalmalet. See above, p. 386, *note*.
[2] Periç Disor.

other knights, well equipped and dressed, with good horses and good new saddles, fit to go into any court as well-appointed men. I had my house well decked out to receive him. On entering, he would not kiss my hand, but prostrated himself and embraced me;[1] then he seated himself before me, and saluted me on behalf of Zaen, King of Valencia. He said that he had not before seen me, and was very glad to do so. I told him I prayed God to prosper him, that I was well pleased that he had come to see me, wherefore I would do him honour and good in such wise that he should have to thank me. He said that was what he expected of me, that I was such that those whom I loved had ever good and honour from me. I invited him to eat; he replied that he thanked me much for the invitation, but that he would not eat out of the city, that it was forbidden him by his lord; but he held himself as honoured by an invitation from me. I told him that if he would not take dinner there, I would send it into the town to him; he said that he thanked me much more, that at another time he would come when he could take it better, but then he would not for he really could not. Then I said that if he wished I would send away every one, and he could speak in secret with me. He said that so he wished, that he would not speak to me, except

[1] That is, my knees. "E al "nons volch besar la ma mes ques "entrar que feu denant nos hanch "humilia a nos e anans abraçar."

before one or two only in whom I put much trust.[1] I made every one go away, except myself, him, and the interpreter. Then I asked him what he wished to say.

CCLXXV.

He said that Zaen marvelled much at me that I was so enraged against him that I had made my armies and my power come against his land and his power; he did not think he had done anything against me that he should receive so much harm from me. To that I answered and told him, that yes, he had; when I went to the conquest of Mallorca he came to make a raid in my land, going as far as Tortosa and Amposta; what harm he could do there against men and cattle he certainly did do; he also attacked Ulldecona, which is in my kingdom. And that yet in another thing he had wronged me; I sent him once a message that I wished to have peace and truce with him, and as during my childhood I was wont to have and take the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, he was told to make good what they of Valencia had failed to pay; I made demand on him of a hundred thousand besants, sending to him as messenger Don Pedro Sanz, my notary; and he, despising my message and my love, only

[1] "E sobra aço dexem li que si "ell lo volia, quen farien exir tos "los de casa, et que parlas ab nos "tot de segret."

offered me fifty thousand besants. Whereupon I discharged myself of his love, and decided to come against him, since he had preferred fifty thousand besants to my love.[1]

CCLXXVI.

Thereupon the Rais answered and said: He did not think that I had been wronged in that, for at the time I was entitled to and received the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, Zait Abuzeit was the king. "Things have since come to what God willed; but "for what there now is between us and you, let us "take counsel, and let it be well settled for your "honour, for such is the wish of Zaen." I answered that he spoke well, and that men had to consult what to do with things in actual sight, not with things past. He said that he wished to know from me what I intended doing in these affairs that God had ordained should come upon them; wherefore he prayed me much that I should discover what my wish was. If I wished his lord to give me according to the means he had, he would give. But I ought to know well what loss in men the city of Valencia had suffered through our power ever since the building of the fortifications at the Puig, and how I had laid waste the corn lands and the garden of Valencia, and done the same harm in other places of the kingdom, in the best of them. To

[1] "E sobra aço desexim nos de sa amor, e haguem a venir contra ell."

that I replied that I thought it fit for the Queen to be there, and no one else in the world to know but ourselves and she, and he who spoke those words as an interpreter. He said there were two things he gave me great thanks for; one was that I would bring no one but the Queen into the conference, and that no one besides should be concerned in it; the other, because it pleased him well that I should keep the matter secret. It was better so for them and for me, for he knew well that I had to guard myself against many who did not wish my advantage or profit in that, nor in other things.

CCLXXVII.

I accordingly sent for the Queen, and when she came sent away all the women who came with her and all the rest. She alone remained with me, and I repeated to her the words that had passed between Rais Abnalmalet and me, as above written. Then I told him that I would say more to him in the Queen's presence than apart, and this was the answer: "I have reached this place where I now am "encamped; God has conducted me in all under- "takings up to this day, and I have succeeded in "them all. Since I am here, it is my intent and "my resolution, never to depart thence till I get "Valencia. If the King wishes to avert the great "mischief there will be at the capture of a city

"like Valencia—so many Saracens, men, women, "and children, who may then die or lose all they "have—it will please me well." I said moreover that for their good and profit I would take them under my protection, and would escort them, with all they could carry, for I should grieve at their death. If I could get the place by their willingness to surrender it, I would rather have it so than in the other wise, by force; "For the greater part of "the army (said I) wishes for the sack of the "town, and I will not have it so for the pity I "have of you. This is my wish, and nothing else "will I do, unless you positively force me to do "you hurt." He, the Rais, then said: "Those "words are very weighty (*cares*); I cannot further "confer with you without consulting my lord and "uncle, Zaen." I saw that he spoke reason, and told him to do so in good speed. I invited him again to eat, but he declined.

CCLXXVIII.

On the third day the Rais sent me word that if I would give him an escort he would come out to me. I sent one of my barons to him, and he came immediately. He told me that the King of Valencia, Zaen, had considered the thing, and that he knew that the town could not hold out in the end; wherefore, that he might not cause the Valencians to

bear more ill than they had already borne, he would surrender the city on this condition: that the Saracens, men and women, might take away all their effects; that they should not be searched, nor should any outrage be done to them, and they all, himself and they, should go under escort to Cullera. Since it was the will of God that I should have the city, he had to will it so. On that I said that I would consult the Queen, who alone was in the secret. He said that he thought that was good, and he went out of the house, where I and the Queen remained. I then asked her what she thought of Zaen's proposal. She said, that if it seemed right to me to take those terms, she thought it right also; for Valencia was not a thing that a man who could have, should risk it from one day to another. I felt that she gave me good advice, and I told her that I agreed with what she said, but I would add what I thought a very good reason for accepting Zaen's terms, namely, that should the town be taken by force, it would go hard for me if a wrangling (*baralla*) over it arose in the army. Not for base lucre nor for apparel of any sort[1] ought I to put off what my ancestors and myself had so long desired to take and have; and even yet, if I were wounded or fell ill before the town

[1] Roba—alluding, I think, contemptuously to what the Moors would take away as mere garments. The word, however, includes movables of any kind. It is the Italian *roba*, and Spanish *ropa*.

could be taken by force, the whole thing might still be lost. Wherefore, so good a work as that should not be put to risk, and one should follow it up well, and end it.

CCLXXIX.

After saying that, I sent for Rais Abnalmalet,[1] and answered him in this wise:—"Rais, you know "well that I have made a great outlay in this "business of mine; yet notwithstanding the outlay "that I and my people have made and the ills we "have suffered, for all that it shall not be but that "I will agree to your terms, and have you escorted "to Cullera, with all the goods that the Saracens, "men and women, may be able to carry. For "love of the King and of you, who have come "here, will I do your people that grace, that they "may go safely and securely with their apparel and "with what they can carry, and wish to carry."

CCLXXX.

When the Rays heard that, he was content; and he said he gave me great thanks, though their loss was to be great; withal he thanked me much for the grace I did them. After a time, I asked him on what day it should be. He said they

[1] Here, as in many other places, the name of the Rais is written Abualmalot, and Zaen is for Çaen. See p. 386, *note*.

needed ten days for clearing out. I told him that he asked too much, that the army was growing weary of the delay, for nothing was being done, and it was not for their good nor for mine. And so after long discourse we agreed that on the fifth day they would surrender the town, and would begin to depart.

When that was settled between me and him, I told the Rays to keep the thing secret till I had spoken with the Archbishop of Narbonne, with the other bishops, and with my barons. He said he would do so, and I told him I would speak with them that very evening, and would give orders that from that time no harm should be done to them.

CCLXXXI.

When that was done, and I had eaten, drunk, and taken sleep in a pavilion beside my quarters, I sent for the Archbishop [of Tarragona], for the bishops and the barons, as well as for the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was there in the camp. When all were present, I told them how Our Lord had done me many favours, and among others had now done me one for which I and they ought to give Him great thanks. As they had a good share in that great gain of mine, I would make them know, that they all might rejoice in it, that Valencia was

ours at last. When I had said that, Don Nuño, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Pedro, Fernandez de Açagra, and Don Pedro Cornell, lost colour, as if some one had stabbed them to the heart; all murmured except the Archbishop and some of the bishops, who said that they thanked Our Lord for giving me that gain, and that grace; not one of the others thanked God for it, or took it well. Then Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra asked how it was done, and in what wise? I said that I had engaged for the safety of the King of Valencia and of the Saracens, all those living in the town, men and women, and for escorting them to Cullera and Denia; and that they were to surrender the town on the fifth day from that. All said that since I had done it, they approved of it. And the Archbishop of Narbonne added: "This is the work of "God, and I do not believe but that of three "things[1] one must be; either you have done "service to God, or you are now serving Him "in this, or you will serve Him hereafter." And En Ramon Berenguer said: "We ought to give "God great thanks for the love He has shown "you, and since that which you and your ancestors "had desired is now fulfilled through you, we "ought to be very thankful to Our Lord."

[1] "E dix Larquebisbe de Narbona, aço es obra de Deus, e yo no crech que de tres coses en vos no haja la una, o que vos hajats servit a Deus, o que ara lo servits, o quel servirets."

CCLXXXII.

Next day, at vespers, I sent to tell the King and the Rays Abulhamalet that, in order that the Christians might know that Valencia was ours, and might do nothing against it, they should hoist my standard on the tower, which now is that called of the Temple; they said they were content, and I went on the Rambla,[1] between the camp and the tower. When I saw my standard upon the tower I dismounted, turned myself towards the east, and wept with my eyes, kissing the ground, for the great mercy that had been done to me.

CCLXXXIII.

Meantime the Saracens busied themselves about departing within the five days I had agreed on with them, so that on the third day they were all ready to quit; and I myself, with knights and armed men about me, brought them all out into the fields between Ruçafa and the town. I had, however, to put some of my own men to death because of their attempting to take goods from the Saracens, and carry off some women and children. So it was, that though the people who came out of Valencia were so numerous—there being between

[1] Rambla, properly "the sands"; in Arabic, رملة; the word is still used in Catalonian towns for the public promenade.

men and women well fifty thousand—by the grace of God they did not lose between them one thousand sols, so well did I escort, and have them escorted, as far as Cullera.[1]

CCLXXXIV.

When that was done I made my entrance into the city, and on the third day began the division of the houses among the Archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops, and the barons who were with me, as well as the knights who were entitled to heritages in the district. I also gave shares to the corporations of the cities [of Aragon and Catalonia], according to the number of men-at-arms each had there.

CCLXXXV.

At the end of three weeks I appointed partitioners to divide the lands of the district of Valencia. I made the yoke, "jouvada,"[2] to be of six "cafiçades." I had the whole land of the district measured, and the grants I had made carefully examined. When this was done, I found that, in consequence of the grants made to some of the men, the charters came

[1] The Spanish translation, p. 265, gives here the text of the capitulation, which I omit for brevity's sake.

[2] "Jouvada," in Spanish "yugada," from "yugo" (yoke), is the extent of ground which a pair of oxen can plough in twenty-four hours. "Cafizada," from *cahiz*, a nominal measure of about six English bushels, that which requires that amount of grain as seed.

to more "jouvadas" than the land itself. Many men there were who had asked for a small portion of land, and I found afterwards that, through their cheating, it was twice or three times as much as they ought to have had. As there was not enough land for the grants, I took away from those who had too much, and redistributed it, so that all had some, as was fitting.

CCLXXXVI.

So was the land of Valencia divided; but as the division would have been too great a work for me to do, I had appointed Don Assalit de Gudar and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, then my steward (*reboster major*) in the kingdom of Aragon, as partitioners. The bishops and barons then came to me and said: "We marvel much that the "lands of so honourable a city as this is, the head "of all the kingdom of Valencia, you should give "to be divided by Don Assalit and Don Exemen "Perez; though they may be good men and "learned in law, it is not for them to make such "a division. You should rather set to it the most "honourable men you have here; and we pray "and counsel you that you do so, for all people "talk already of it, and say that you do not direct "this matter well." I said: "Who do you think then that I should set to do it?" They said:

"We hold it good, and counsel you that you set "to do it two bishops and two barons; just as "the place is honourable, ought you to put honour- "able men in it." I said: "Tell me, that I may "better answer you, who you wish me to appoint, "and I will consider it." They said they thought it should be the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenguer, the Bishop of Huesca, En Vidal de Çavalles, En Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, and En Exemen de Urrea. I said: "I will consider of it, and will give you an answer."

CCLXXXVII.

Thereupon I sent for Don Assalit de Gudar, and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and said to them: "Hear what the bishops and barons "say, that I am to take out of your hands the "division of the property (*hereditaments*), and put "it into those of the Bishop of Barcelona, the "Bishop of Huesca, Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, "and Exemen de Urrea." They answered: "We "knew that they meant to say that to you, but we "pray you not to put us out of it; it would be a "shame to us." I said to them: "It seems to me "that you are not of good judgment in this matter, "for if they take up the business I am sure to "overthrow them at their very beginning." They asked in what wise, and I answered: "In this: I

"will do as they desire. I know that there is not "land enough for the grants already made, and they "will have to give back their charge because of "their not knowing how to do the thing." They again said: "We pray you not to take the charge from us; it would bring shame on us;" and I replied, "Leave it to me; in the end I will save you both from shame and reproach." They said, "It must then be as you wish." I accordingly sent for the bishops and barons to come, that I might give them an answer, as I had promised.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C.

SEP 83
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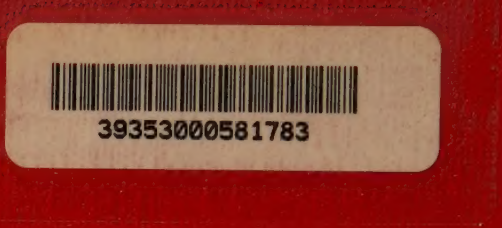
INDIANA 46962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